

THE

LONDON MAGAZINE.

NOVEMBER, 1739.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 580. of the APPENDIX to last Month.



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S no material Dispute, especially of a political Nature, happens in this Kingdom, but what becomes a Topick of Con-

STOR A REGISTED HEREAL

versation, and often the Subject of tion of a Lord Mayor of London, (see p. 499, &c.) gave Occasion for a Debate, a short Account of which may be agreeable to your Readers.

Whether the Citizens of London had a Right to chuse their Lord Mayor, that is to fay, to return any B two Gentlemen they pleased, that had served the Office of Sheriff, to the Court of Aldermen, notwith-flanding the Custom that has lately presailed, was a Question that could not admit of any Dispute; but whether they had wifely, justly, and C properly exerted that Right upon Occasion of the last Election, was the Question that was stated and debated amongst us,

Upon this Question, the Hon. Solon aver the first that gave bis Opinion, in D. Substance as follows, viz.

Mr. President, SIR,

HAVE often observed, that what we call civil or political Power, and what we call Preheminence or Respect, are Terms which are not a Debate in our Club, the late Elec- A so properly distinguished as they ought, by those who talk or write upon the Subject. Preheminence a Man may be entitled to by Nature, and he may be possessed of it without Power; but Power proceeds from the Free-gift of the People alone, and always draws with it Preheminence. A Superiority of Age, entitles a Man to Preheminence or Respect from his Juniors, which he can forfeit only by a wicked or childish Behaviour; and superior Qualifications, especially of the Mind, intitle a Man by Nature to a Sort of Preheminence or Respect; but neither of these gives him any Title to Power, tho' they are good Reasons for prevailing on the People to invest him with Power. In Society, again, a Man's being the Represontative of an angient Family, or the Son of a Father from whom the So-

ciety has received great Benefits or Services, gives him a Sort of natural Right to Prehemmence, but it gives him no Right to any Power, legislative, jurisdictive or executive, ecclefiastical, civil or military: Nay, it ought not to be, tho' it generally A is, of itself a Reason for prevailing on the People to invest him with any Power. No Man therefore can have a Title to any Sort of political Power, but by the express Election, or the Submission, which is a tacit Sort of Election, of the People.

But as express Elections in numerous Societies are troublesome, and often give Occasion to Factions and Seditions, therefore in most Societies the People have, in many Inftances, by their Submission, annexed Power to Preheminence. By which I mean, C Sir, that in most Societies, the Representatives of some of their antient Families have a Sort of Right or Title to Power, by the Constitution or Form of Government established in that Society. It is this that gave Rife to Monarchies and D Aristocracies: It is this that preferves these Sorts of Government, and makes them so universal.

When the whole Power of the Society is thus, Sir, by annexing Power to Preheminence, lodged in the Representative of one great and E antient Family, it constitutes what is properly call'd an absolute hereditary Monarchy; fuch as that established in Turkey. When it is ledged in the Representative of a certain Number of great and antient Families, it constitutes that Form of F Government we properly call an Aristocracy; such as that may be called which is established at Venice. But when no Power is annexed to Preheminence: When the whole Power of the Society is lodged in that Magistrate, or in those Magis- G call him to a strict Account, he will trates, that are chosen by the express Election of the People, it contitutes that Form of Government

we call an elective Monarchy; fuch as that of Poland, with regard to those called Gentlemen of Poland; for the rest of the People of that Kingdom, are rather Slaves than Subjects: Or it constitutes that Form of Government which we properly call a Democracy; the likest to which, is that now established in

Swifferland.

With regard to absolute Monarchies, it may be juftly faid, Sir, that they must generally be tyrannical and oppressive; because a Man who is born and bred prefumptive Heir of a Crown, feldom learns in his Youth to bridle or confine his Paffions; and fuch a Man, when he comes to be vested with uncontroulable Power, must almost necessarily make a bad Use of it; so that it is next to a Miracle, if he does not oppress the People who have the Misfortune of being subject to his Government. And with regard to Aristocracies, tho' no one fingle Man be vefted with an uncontroulable Power, yet those who have the Power lodged in their Hands, too often connive at the Oppressive and tyrannical Acts of one another; and fometimes a few of them form themselves into a Confederacy, and by that Means assume an absolute Rule over the whole Society; fo that the People are generally oppressed by an aristocratical, as well as a monarchical Government.

But with regard to a Democracy, Sir, it can never become tyrannical or oppressive, whilst the Elections of their Magistrates are frequent and free; for when a Magistrate knews that the Time of his Magistracy will be foon at an End, and that he must then return to the People for a Continuance of his Power, or that he may have fuch Succeffors as will probably be as circumspect as postble, in order to recommend himiel to the People at the next Election,

or to prevent its being in the Power of those that succeed him, to charge him with any Crime or Neglect. Indeed, if the Magistrates be chosen for Life, or a long Term of Years, a Democracy may not only become and the most troublesome of all Sorts of Government; because their Elections can never be free. Such Elections are always both seditious and corrupt; and the Government is a those that prevail over the Party that opposed them, which Oppresfion is fo sharpened by the Rancour and Malice raised at the Time of Election, that it cuts asunder the Bands of Relation, Friendship, Grafor the prevailing Party being awed by no Fear of a speedy End to their Power, they give a full Loofe to their Revenge, and the long Time they have to reign, makes them conceive Hopes of rendering it perpetual, by extirpating the Party that D opposed them.

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On the other hand, Sir, if Elections are frequent, they will probably be free, especially if Care be taken, that the same Man shall into any Office of great Dignity E and Power; for when the Time of Magistracy is but short, no Man can, during his Magistracy, form fuch a Party as may be able to force the People to re-chuse him, and it can never be worth any Man's While to purchase such an Elec- F tion by Bribery. Every Elector has a Bias or Inclination to vote for one Candidate rather than another, proceeding from Friendship, Acquaintance, Esteem, Character, or some other Motive that is not corrupt; and if the other Candi-G date has a Mind to corrupt him, he must give him such a Sum, as will make the corrupt Motive get the better of all the other Mouves:

If one Guinea, or one hundred Guineas will not do this, he must give him two, three, four, five, fix, or feven: Now if a new Election is to return in a Year, it may not be worth the corrupting Candidate's oppressive, but the most oppressive, A While to give five or seven; and confequently, he can purchase but a very few low Fellows; whereas, if a new Election is not to return for feven Years, it may be worth the corrupting Candidate's While to continual Course of Oppression in B give five or seven Guineas, which may be a corrupt Motive, ftrong enough to get the better of all other Motives, with fuch a Number of the Electors, as may gain him a Majority upon the Election; from whence tis evident, that the more frequent titude, and even Humanity itself; C the Elections are, the more free, and the less corrupt they must necellarily be.

And for this very Reason, Sir, they must be the less seditious; for nothing is so apt to stir up Sedition, and even Civil Wars, as Violence or Injustice upon either Side of an Whoever endeavours to Election. gain a Majority of Votes in any Assembly by forcible or corrupt Methods, gives the other Side a Right to have Recourse to Arms, and they certainly will, if they have the least Prospect of Success: Whereas, when a Candidate and his Party know, or have Reason to believe, that every Man was left to a free and uncorrupted Choice, if a Majority declares against them, they have no Right to complain, therefore they bear their Disappointment with Patience, and hope for better Success upon the next Occasion; especially when they know, that in a fhort Time they must have an Opportunity for a fresh Trial; which is another Reason for Elections being less seditious, when they are frequent, than when they happen but once in an Age, or in a long Term of Years. In the former Cafe, the 4 K 2

Disappointment a Candidate meets with, is not so confiderable as in the latter, and therefore cannot so highly provoke his Resentment: Nay, if he has any, he will endeavour to stifle and conceal it, in order to recommend himself upon the next A Occasion, to many of those who voted against him upon the former; which is a prudential Caution, a Magistrate chosen for Life, or a long Term of Years, has no Occasion for; and therefore, those who oppose him, will certainly op- B pose him with the more Heat and Animofity, because if he be chosen into the Magistracy, they must expect no Favour; they must expect that the Law will be most rigouroufly executed in every Case, where any one of them has a Concern.

From these Reflexions, Sir, upon what we properly call Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, one would think, that Democracy should be the only Form of Government established in any Part of the World; and that of all Democracies, that D which has a quick Rotation of Magistracy of all Kinds, should be the only one chosen. But what we call the Vulgar in every Country, which makes by far the most numerous Part of Mankind, are fo bad Politicians, that no pure Democracy E was ever of any very long Continuance. The Vulgar are fo fenfible of the Evils they suffer, and some Evils they must suffer under any Form of human Government; and they are so insensible of those Evils to which they were never exposed, F that in order to avoid the small Evils they fuffer under a Democracy, and instead of contriving Methods for amending their popular Form of Government, they throw themselves under the infufferable Evils of an absolute Monarchy or Aristocracy. G like to prevail over the other two. Of this the Israelites in the Days of Samuel are a notable Instance, who, when they found themselves op-

pressed by his Sons, instead of refloring and regulating their Commonwealth, infifted upon having an absolute Monarchy established, notwithstanding the lively and true Representation, Samuel made to them, of that Form of Government.

Another Reason, Sir, for the short Duration of Democracies is, that the Vulgar can never fee into the fecret and remote Defigns of cunning and ambitious Men. They judge from outward and present Appearances only; and as most Men endeavour to grasp at all the Power they can get, and are not only for keeping Possession as long as they live, but even for transmitting it to their Posterity; therefore, the Ambition of fuccessful Generals, or artful and great Magistrates, and the stupid Confidence of the Vulgar, are the Cause that pure Democracies have generally foon ended in absolute Monarchy.

For this Reason, Sir, it has been found necessary to make some Sort of Mixture or Composition of these three different Sorts of Government; and of all the Compound Governments that were ever established, I believe, that which is established in this Kingdom is, according to its true Constitution, the most convenient, and the most durable. But as it depends upon such an equal Mixture of the three, as that no one of them may be able to get the better of, and swallow up the other two, and as no human Prudence can pretend to contrive such Regulations as must for ever guard us against this Danger, the only Means we can propose, for the Preservation of our Constitution, is to be continually upon the Watch, in order to diminish the Power of that Part of our Constitution, which is at that Time

At present, Sir, the only Danger our Constitution seems to be threatned with, is, left the Monarchical

Part of it should so far prevail as to get the absolute Direction of the other two; and therefore, we should guard as much as possible against any Increase of Power in the Monarchical Part of our Constitution. folutely necessary to diminish, or take away, some of that Power it has lately acquired. Now as there are a great many Magistracies and Offices in the Gift of the Crown, the Power of the Crown must be Offices are granted during Pleasure, than when they are granted during Life; for a Magistrate or Officer, when his Post depends upon the Pleasure of the Crown, will be more subservient to the Crown, and will than he would do, had he his Post for Life. This we may be convinced of by observing, that it has been the perpetual Endeavour of all our Princes and Ministers that were aiming at arbitrary Power, to get as many Posts and Offices as possible D at the Disposal of the Crown, and to dispose of them durante beneplacito Therefore, we ought to be extremely cautious of increasing the Number of those Posts or Offices that are granted by the Crown, ethe Crown during Pleasure: And those who think the Power of the Crown already too great, ought to endeavour to have some of those Posts now at the Disposal of the Crown provided for otherwise, and those which are now disposed of by the Crown durante beneplacito, may hereafter be always granted quamdiu se bene gesserit.

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But, Sir, with regard to all those Magistracies, Posts or Offices, that are by our Constitution in the Dif- G polal of the People, which conftitutes the democratical Part of our Form of Government, the Case is

very different; for in order to increase the Power of the People, and diminish the Power of the Crown, fuch Magistrates and Officers ought all to be annually chosen, or for a very short Term of Years: When Perhaps it may be now become ab- A fuch Magistrates and Officers are chosen for Life, or for a long Term of Years, the Crown must necessarily have great Influence, not only upon the Elections, but also over the Magistrates and Officers after they are While we are under a just cholen. greater, when those Magistracies or B and wise Administration, this Influence can be no Way prejudicial, but on the contrary, may be of Service to the Publick. But when the Nation has the Misfortune to be under an ambitious, a wicked, or a weak Administration, which is a more implicitly obey its Commands, C Misfortune too frequent in this, and every other Nation, this Influence may contribute towards the Overthrow of our Constitution, or it may contribute towards gaining a conflitutional Justification of the most wicked, or a constitutional Approbation of the most ridiculous Meafures. And that this Influence will be great or small, in Proportion to the long or short Duration of such Magistracies or Offices, is apparent from the Attempts of such of our Princes or Ministers that have been specially those that are granted by E aiming at the Establishment of arbitrary Power; for from the whole Course of our History we shall find. that fuch Princes and Ministers have always endeavoured, either to take this Nomination entirely away from the People, or to have such Magito have it so regulated that most of F strates and Officers chosen for Life, or for a long Term of Years.

> This, I say, Sir, we may know from Experience, but even from Reason itself we may be convinced of it; because it is more worth the While of a Court or Minister, to gain an Influence over the Election of any Magistrate or Officer, who is to be chosen for Life, or a long Term of Years, than over the Election of a

Magistrate or Officer who is to be chosen for a Year only, or for a short Term of Years. And it is more the Interest of a Court to gain an Influence over a Magistrate or Officer that is in for Life, or a long Term of Years, than over one that A bitious, wicked, or weak Adminifis in for a Year, or a few Years only. Therefore, a Court or Minister will always give more for the Purchase of a corrupt Influence in the former of each of these Cases, than in the latter. When a Prince or Minister is pursuing arbitrary De- B figns, or wicked, or weak Meafares, the People will foon become fenfible of it, and every Man will be hated or despised by them, that endeavours to support or justify such Measures. Notwithstanding the Contempt that some of our modern fine C Gentlemen are now industriously taught to flew for Popularity, I will be bold to fay, that every Man has fome Regard for his Character among the People of his Country: No Man will knowingly and defignedly facrifice it, without a valuable Confidera- D the oftner the Method of Bribing tion; and that Confideration he must think more valuable, than the Value he puts upon his Character among the People of his Country; therefore, when I hear a Man despising Popularity, I always conclude, that he has either a corrupt, or a corrupting E Heart; and that he does fo, either to justify the villanous Sale he has made, or to diminish the Price of those, whose Characters he has a Mind to purchase. But all the Art and Ridicule that can be made use of against Popularity, by the merce- F nary Tools of a wicked Administration, can never entirely root out of the Heart of Mankind, that Passion for Esteem, which God and Nature have so wisely and so strongly imprinted. Some Men may put but a small Value upon their Character, G and the Tools of a wicked Adminiftration, like common Thieves, by keeping Company only with one an-

other, may at last come to be regardless of their Character among the rest of Mankind; but no Man of common Sense ever made the first Sacrifice of his Character for nothing; therefore, before an amtration, can have a corrupt Influence, which is the only Influence they can have, upon a popular Election, they must give to each Elector they find necessary to corrupt, a Bribe superior to the Value he puts upon his Character among his Neighbours and Countrymen, which becomes the more impossible, the more frequently fuch Elections return; and before they can gain such an Influence over a Magistrate or Officer chosen by the People, they must give him a Bribe superior to the Value he puts upon his Character among the People that chose him, which of course becomes the more imposible, the shorter Time that Magistrate or Officer is to continue in Office; and in both Cafes, must be made use of, the more easily may the Corruption be discovered.

As the Rules of Reason, Sir, are always best explained, and most strongly enforced by Example, I shall beg Leave to suppose this Nation to unfortunate, as to be under an Administration, whose Measures had become the Ridicule of every Man in the Kingdom, not hired to approve or commend. Every one must fee, that such an Administration must necessarily endeavour to gain a corrupt Influence over most of our popular Elections, and over most of those Magistrates and Officers that are chosen by the People, especially those called our Representatives in Parliament. In this Cafe, suppose our Parliaments were septennial, as they are at present, it might be worth the Government's While to pay 700% for gaining a correct Influence over a fmall Borough; and

suppose the Majority of the Electors was not above a hundred, 71. a Man might be a higher Price, than any one of them valued his Character at, and might be a Motive superior to all the Motives he might have Country Interest; therefore, the Court Candidate would be fure of being chosen: Whereas, if our Parliaments were annually chosen, as they originally were, the Court could not give above 100% for gaining a corrupt Influence over such a Borough, B and 20 Shillings a Man would be far from being a Price superior to the Value any Man but a mere Scoundrel could put upon his Character, nor could it be a Motive superior to the other natural and honest Motives any Elector might have C to vote for the Candidate upon the Country Interest. Then with regard to the Representatives, after they are chosen, a Pension of 500%. or 1000%. a Year, for seven Years certain, might be a prevailing Motive with many Members to vote D always with the Court, at the Expence of their Character, who would despise and spurn at an Offer of 500/. or 1000 l. when they knew that their accepting of fuch an Offer, or voting in such a Way, would be a certain Means for throwing them E out of Parliament upon the next annual Election.

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Now, Sir, with regard to those Magistrates and Officers that are choien by the People, I cannot chuse better for an Example, than those of the City of London. know that the Citizens have as yet the Power of chusing all their own Magistrates and Officers; and we likewise know, that most of them are annually choien. Even the Aldermen were, by their first Institution, to be annually chosen, and G continued so till the 17th Year of Richard II. But that King having formed a Delig against the Liberues of the People, began, as such

Princes usually do, by endeavouring to oppress the City of London. on a frivolous Pretence, he took away their Charter, which they did not get restored till they made him a Present of a very large Sum of to vote for the Candidate upon the A Money; and in order, as may be supposed, to render their Aldermen more liable to Court Influence, he got a Regulation made, for having the Aldermen chosen for Life, unless removed for a reasonable Cause. The Fate of that unfortunate Prince, and how much that Fate was owing to this Treatment of the City of London, is well known; but the that Prince was folemnly deposed, and afterwards privately murdered, this Regulation, with respect to the Aldermen of the City of London, was too convenient for the Crown, ever to admit of an Alteration; fo that the Aldermen have ever fince been chosen by their respective Wards for Life.

I need not take up your Time, Sir, with shewing how convenient it must always be for our Administration to have the Magistrates and People of London of their Side: If our Court had no other Guards than what they had in Q. Elizabeth's Time, it would be absolutely necesfary; and that long Reign is not only a Proof, that this may be accomplished by a wife Conduct alone, but it is also a Proof, that the People of England are not so factious and fickle, as some late Politicians have been pleased to infinuate. But when the Nation happens to be un-We F der such an Administration as I have before supposed, the Citizens of London will certainly declare against it; and then it becomes necessary for our Ministers to gain to their Interest, by corrupt Means, for they can do it by none other, as many of the City Magistrates as they can. In this Case let us examine, whether it would not be much more easy and certain to gain a corrupt

Influence over an Alderman chosen for Life, than over one chosen for a Year only. Before a Man can be chosen Alderman, we must suppose him to be a Favourite of his Ward, and confequently that he must have a good Character among the People. A This Character we cannot suppose he would facrifice; by joining in Support of a hated or despised Minifter, unless for a very valuable Consideration. Suppose this Consideration, or the Value he puts upon his Character amongst his old Friends B and Acquaintance, to be at least 1000 l. a Year during Life: This he would certainly have, either in Post or Pension from such a Minister; for it would be well worth fuch a Minister's While to pay 14,000 l. a Year for fecuring a Majority in the C Court of Aldermen, especially fince that Court has got, by a late Statute, the extraordinary Power of putting a Negative upon the most general Resolution of the rich and populous City of London.

City of London were, as formerly, and as the Common-Council Men now are, chosen from Year to Year, tho' fuch an Alderman could not do the Court near fo much Service, as an Alderman chosen for Life, yet he would put a higher Price upon his E Character among his old Friends and Acquaintance, for this very good Reason, because he would have more Use for it. When the Aldermen are chosen for Life, if the Custom of advancing them to the Honour of the Mayoralty by regular Rotation, F should ever be established as unalterable, a Man who had got himself once chosen Alderman, would be at the Top of his Ambition, with regard to any Thing his Friends in the City could bestow; therefore he would, from that Moment, begin G to difregard his Character among them, and confequently would undervalue it. Whereas, if he were

chosen for a Year only, he must preserve his Character in the City; in order to recommend himself to their Choice at the next annual Election; and even while the Citizens Right of chusing the Lord Mayor yearly, is left free, and unconfined by Law or Custom, it must lay the Aldermen, tho' chosen for Life, under some Sort of Obligation to preserve their Character among the Citizens, till they have got above the Chair, which, of course, must at least enhance their Price to a hated or despised Administration. But if their Continuance in the Magistracy as Aldermen, as well as their Advancement to the Mayoralty, depended upon their preferving their Character amongst the Citizens, most of them would put such a Price upon their Character, as would render it impossible for a wicked Administration to purchase a Majority in the Court of Aldermen; for even suppose they should put no greater Value upon But, Sir, if the Aldermen of the D their Character, than I have supposed an Alderman for Life to do, in order to purchase an Alderman for a Year only, the Court must give him at once a Sum equal in Value to an Annuity of 10001. a Year for Life, which is at least 10,000 l. fo that it would cost such an Administration as I have supposed, at least 140,000 l. a Year, to preferve, by corrupt Means, from Year to Year, a Majority in the Court of Aldermen.

After what I have faid, Sir, in relation to Parliament-Men chosen for one Year, or feven, I need not trouble you with shewing, that a Court, or wicked Administration, will always more probably have a corrupt Influence over the Election of an Alderman for Life, than over the Election of one chosen for a Year only: For every one must fee, that in the former Case, it may be worth their While to lay out in Brib

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bery, fuch a Sum upon the Election, as might be fufficient for tempting the Majority of the Liverymen of a Ward, to vote for the Court Candidate, at the Expence of their Character, and in Defiance of all the hovote for the other Candidate; whereas, in the latter Case, it would never be worth the While of an Adminiftration, to lay out fuch a Sum upon

any annual Election.

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This must shew, Sir, how much the Liberties of the City of London against the Attempts of an ambitious or wicked Administration, to have their antient Method of chufing Aldermen restored. But since this is not, I'm afraid, to be expected, furely the Citizens of Lon- C don ought to take great Care, that their annual and free Choice of a Lord Mayor shall not be wrested from them, either by an express Law, or by a Custom, which, if continued for many Years without This free Choice, while it is preserved, will, as I have faid, have some Effect, in preserving the Integrity and Fidelity of their Aldermen under the Chair; and fince this is their last Boon, the only Check they have now left, upon E a Set of Magistrates who may greatly contribute, upon many Occasions, towards preserving or destroying the Liberties, not only of their City, but of their Country, they ought to be extremely jealous of having it, under any Pretence, wrested from F them. For this Reason, they ought to interrupt the Cultom of presenting the two senior Aldermen under the Chair, as often as they have an Opportunity; and this Opportunity must always present itself, when either of the two is suspected of any G that Negative. But when, by such enormous Crime, or egregious Weakness, either in publick or private Life; for a Lord Mayor of London,

like the Wife of Cæfar, ought not to be so much as suspected of any Crime or Weaknels.

I am far from accusing the Gentleman who had the Misfortune of being put by upon the last Occasion, nest Motives they might have, to A of any Thing criminal; but, Sir, the very Suspicion was a sufficient Authority for what was done; and he had the additional Misfortune of being under a most unlucky Alternative, in the Eye of every Man that thought our late Convention it would contribute towards securing B with Spain a most inglorious and destructive Treaty; which, I believe, was the Way of thinking of a great Majority of his Electors. As he in the most publick, the most solemn, and the most hurtful Manner, approved of that Convention, every Man who had fuch an Opinion of it, must conclude, either against his Integrity, or his Capacity; and therefore, every fuch Man was obliged, both in Honour and Conscience, to vote against his being raised to a Post of so great Honour, as that Interruption, might have the same D of the Lord Mayor of the City of London; for, befides the real Injuries a Man in fuch a Post may do to his Country and Fellow-Citizens, when a Criminal is raised to such a high Dignity, he disgraces it; when a weak Man is, he renders it contemptible. From hence we may fee, that when a Man presents himfelf as a Candidate for any Post of Honour in his Country, he must of course subject both his Character and Capacity to a fair Enquiry. Upon this Enquiry, his Electors are the only rightful Judges; and whoever thinks he has a well-founded Suspicion of either, not only ought, but is in Duty bound, to give his Negative to fuch a Candidate : There is no Occasion for a full Proof, the very Suspicion is a just Reason for a Negative, a Man preferves to his City or Country a most valuable Privilege, or interrupts a Cultom that

would in Time put an End to it, the Negative he gives is still more

to be justified.

Upon this Footing, Sir, we ought to judge of the Behavour of the Citizens of London at the last Election of their Lord Mayor, and upon this A Reign, viz. March 30, 1702. which Footing we must conclude, they justly, wifely, and properly, exerted their Right upon that Occafion: Nay, we must conclude, that fuch of them as thought the late Convention with Spain a dishonourable and disadvantageous Treaty, B would have been deficient in their Duty towards their City, if they had not given their Negative to a Man whom in their Hearts they could not but condemn, either for Want of Integrity, or for Want of Capacity.

This Journal and Debate to be continued in our next.]

The two following were omitted in our last for Want of Room.

Craftsman, Oct. 27. Nº 694.

A SPEECH of QUEEN ANNE, with Observations upon it, &c.

SIR,

THINK you have laid down E a very honest and practicable Scheme, in your Paper of the 13th (see p. 509) towards the Expences of a War with Spain; and tho' one of the ministerial Hacks hath endeavour'd to nibble at it in general, yet he feems to be ashanied of reasoning F against one Part of it, by passing it over intirely in Silence. I mean that which relates to a parliamentary Deduction, or a voluntary Contribution, from the Civil-Lift; which are fully justified in Times of War, not only from Reason and G broad, as well as the Season of the Equity, but the two Examples you mention'd in the Reigns of K. William and Q. Anne.

As to the latter, you confin'd yourself to the Authority of her Grace the Dutchess Dowager Marlborough; which is confirm'd by her Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, at the Beginning of her I believe will be very acceptable to every true Englishman. It is as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Am very well pleas'd to have given my Affent to the Act for taking the publick Accounts. thing is more reasonable than to give the Kingdom the Satisfaction of having those great Sums accounted for, which were rais'd to carry on the late War; especially when it C is necessary, for our own Safety, and the Support of our Allies, to continue great Taxes.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my kind and hearty Thanks for continuing to me, for D my Life, the same Revenue you had granted to the King. I will take great Care it shall be manag'd to the best Advantage; and while my Subjects remain under the Burthen of fuch great Taxes, I will straiten myself, in my oron Expences, rather than not contribute all I can to their Ease and Relief, with a just Regard to the Support of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown.

It is probable the Revenue may fall very short of what it hath formerly produced. However, I will give Directions, that 100,000 l. be apply'd to the publick Service in this Year, out of the Revenues you have

to unanimously given me.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The present Posture of Affairs a-Year, obliges me to put you in mind of giving all possible Dispatch to the publick Bufiness. This

This Speech breathes fuch a glorious Spirit, and fo warmly expresses the Affections of the Mother of her Country, that it was receiv'd with great Applause, at that Time, and it would be Injustice to her Memory,

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It is certainly true, [as her Majefly observes) that nothing is more reasonable, at the Commencement of a new War, which must be carried on by the Continuance of great than that they should have a full and fatisfactory Account how the Money rais'd for the Support of any former War hath been dispos'd of. I cannot help adding, that such an Account is certainly more reasonable, at the Beginning of a War, after im- C mense Sums have been expended during a long Course of Peace; for that being a Time, which requires no extraordinary Expences, it is the Intetrest of a wife Prince, and the Duty of an bonest Minister, to lay hold of fuch an Opportunity to heal D up the Wounds, which a War hath occasion'd, and to lay in a Stock for a new one, when Necessity requires st, by recruiting the publick Treasure, and easing the People. Both of these may be easily done, during a long Interval of War, by a little good Oe-E conomy and bonest Management.

In the next Place, we find the Queen returning the House of Commons Thanks, for continuing to her, during Life, the fame Revenue they had granted to K. William. She was fo far from defiring any In- F Robes, for nine Years, the spent only crease of the Civil-Lift, that she was very thankful for the same Revenue her Predecessor enjoy'd, tho' the came to the Throne with a War upon her Hands, which might have been made a Pretence by some Princes to have ask'd for more. But her ge-G nerous Heart disdain'd any such unreasonable Demands; and assur'd the Parliament, that whilst ber Subjects remain'd under the Burthen of Juch

great Taxes, she would straiten herfelf in her own Expences, rather than not contribute all she could to

their Ease and Relief.

Bishop Burnet tells us, " that many feem'd to apprehend that so great a at present, not to make a short Com- A Revenue might be apply'd to Uses, not so profitable to the Publick, in a Reign that was like to be frugal, and probably would not be liable to

great Accidents."

However, these Jealousies immediately vanish'd upon ber Majesty's Taxes, at the Expence of the People, B Speech, which did not confift of Words only; for tho' she expresses her Apprehensions, "that the Revenue would fall very short of what it formerly produced," yet she promis'd to give Directions that 100,000/. should be apply'd towards the publick Expences of that Year; and, during the Progress of the War, she gave up a considerable Part of her Revenue to the same Uses, besides many other munificent Benefactions, both of a publick and private Nature.

All this was done by that difinterested Frugality, which she promis'd the Nation in her Speech; for the Dutchess of Marlborough assures us, upon the Authority of the late Earl of Godolphin, Lord High-Treasurer, " that from Accidents in the Customs, and Lenity in the Collection, her Ciwil-List did not arise, one Year with another, to more than 500,000/. a Year." We have the fame Authotity for faying, " that she never bought any one Jewel during her whole Reign; and that as to her 32,050 l. including the Coronation

Expence." The present State of the Civil-Lift is so well known, and hath been so fully explain'd, that I shall not trouble you, or the Reader, with any Recapitulation of the Particulars.-Neither will I presume to offer my Opinion what ought to be done upon the present extraordinary

Occasion, either by his Majesty, or the Parliament. A War, so long defired by the Nation, is now proclaim'd in Form against Spain; and it cannot be doubted that the best Measures will be devis'd for carrying it on, not only with Vigour and A Success, but likewise with all the Ease to the People, which the present Circumstances of Affairs will admit.

But I must beg Leave to take Notice of one Point, which deferves our particular Confideration. wife Governments have kept a re- B Debts, or the Reduction of our Taxes, ferv'd Stock, for the Use of the Publick, against extraordinary Emergencies, which was always look'd upon as inviolable, and not to be diverted

to any other Purposes.

The States of Greece had a sacred Treasure, which was kept in the C Temple of Delos, and not to be alienated except in Cases of the utmost Extremity. This Treasure was religiously preserv'd, according to its original Institution, till the unhallow'd Hands of Pericles seiz'd upon it, and at the same Time D within the Year; by which it will upon the Liberties of his Country.

The antient Romans had likewife a felect Treasure, call'd Aurum vicessimarium, which was laid up in the Temple of Saturn, and not to be touch'd but in Cases of the last

Necessity.

The modern Romans have a Refource of the fame Kind in the Cafthe of St. Angelo, beside their great Riches at Civita Vecchia, which are kept referv'd against any great Emergencies, or Attacks upon the

Holy See,

The facred Treasure of England consists, as Q. Elizabeth observ'd, in the Purses of the People; for whilst they are full, the royal Coffers will never be empty; and for this Reason the generously refunded a large Sum of Money to her People, when the Gusurping a Power inconsistent with Service, for which it was granted her by Parliament, did not require it.

We have, indeed, another Trea-

fure, formerly call'd facred and inviolable; I mean the Sinking Fund, which was constituted for the Payment of our national Debts; but the very Person, who had once the Va-nity to call it his own Child, hath fince manifestly discover'd his Want of natural Affection, by diverting and facrificing it to other Purpofes, for temporary Expedients, and bis own immediate Interest. If this Fund had been regularly and punctually apply'd, either to the Payment of our for which it was originally defign'd, and most folemnly appropriated, the People's Purfes would have been enabled to supply very large Sums toward the Expences of a War. But fince our Affairs are very unhappily in another Situation; it is to be wish'd, at least, that the Sinking Fund will not, upon any Occasion, be funded out; which would be mortgaging our Posterity, almost without Redemption; but that whatever our Necessities may require, will be rais'd be plainly perceiv'd whether the War is well or ill conducted, whatever may be the Success of it. But I will conclude, as a late Writer hath done, with this hearty Prayer -GOD PROSPER THE ARMS OF E GREAT BRITAIN!

Common Sense, Oct. 27. Nº 143.

The Inconveniencies of Over-Arming; And Ministers answerable for the Success of a War, the War was against their Opinion.

F any one Man should pretend to controul, and direct all, he is answerable for all the Corruptions and Mismanagements in every Part of Government; besides which, he is guilty of the highest Crime in our Constitution. But this does not clear such as are appointed for those Provinces; in them, it is a notorious Breach of Trust to suffer any Man to exercise such a Power.

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If they should urge, that they were preferr'd by him for this very Purpose; it makes the thing worse: It is then a plain Conspiracy of mawithin the Construction (if not within the Letter) of High-Treason.

I cannot help faying again, that the Power exercised by a first Minister is inconsistent with the Nature of a free Government; nay, it would was it not that publick Examples are so often made of them when they incur the Hatred of the People.

Be this as it will, they who direct the Operations of the War, be they one or many, are certainly aniwer-

against their Opinion.

Nations which go to War, always arm in Proportion to the Strength of the Enemy. When it was once proposed in Council, to give Mareschal Turenne an Army of 70,000 would do much more Service, and defired he might have no more, for that Number was sufficient to face any Force the Enemy could bring into the Field. Over-arming is a Mark of Fear, but that is not the Strength by it, and it often hinders you from annoying the Enemy.

I don't doubt but very good Reaions will be given for the vaft Addition which has been made to our Standing Army, at a Time when not to the Expence of raifing one Com-

pany.

The People have a Right to ask, why the Land Force is increased so near the Time of a new Election? And I take it for granted, the M___rs will give fuch fa-G employ'd in our Affairs. tisfactory Reasons, as will remove all Suspicion on that Account.

The Advantages of our Situation

are fuch, that if Xerxes with his Army of a Million was encamp'd along the Banks of Calais, he could not hurt us without a superior Fleet; and the Time requifite for equipping fuch a Fleet, would give us Leifure ny against the State, and must come A to exert our whole Force; much less can a French Fishing-Boat, throwing out a Plumb-Line in the Channel, justify the putting the Na-

tion to fuch an Expence.

Nothing can diffress foreign Trade fo much as an Embargo; therefore hardly be endured in Constantinople, B it is never lai'd but when the Safety of the State is at Stake; and in such a Cafe, those who are the Losers by it, will always acquiesce. No doubt but it will be proved, to the Satisfaction of all difinterested Men, that it was necessary to lay a longer Emable for its Success, tho' War was C bargo the last Summer, than had been done in the most dangerous Crisis before; and a certain Person, I hope, will be call'd upon to explain himself, for saying, with an infulting Air, to one of the Merchants who applied for having the Men upon the Rhine, he faid, 40,000 D Embargo taken off, What! you have had enough of the War already.

The numerous Squadrons also sent to Sea will be accounted for to those who are to pay the vaft Expence; for every Body cannot find out a Reason for equipping such a Numworst of it, for you waste your own E ber of Ships of War, Bomb-Vessels, Fire-Ships, &c. when not a Power in Europe had fitted out so much as a Squadron (if we except the 4 Ships fent to the Baltick by France) which made a Frenchman, who was told, that the Spaniards had not 5 Men of one Power of Europe has put itself F War at Sea, but the English had sent out 100, to fay, that the English look upon one Spanish Man of War to be as good as 20 English .-- Whatever Measures may be taken by our Enemies, it need not give us any Concern, if Persons of any Capacity be

> While we were not to be beat out of our pacifick Dispositions, and the Doctrine of Patience was carried to

a higher Pitch of Philosophy in Practice, than ever it was by Seneca in Theory, the Language of the Mercenaries was, that, if a Minifter was refolv'd to have Peace, it could not be for Reasons which regarded himself, because he could A fairs to Men of Honour and Abilinot be answerable for the ill Success of War .- I wish they would be fo kind to tell us, who is answerable, in such a Case, if the Minister be not.—If a Ship be run upon Sands, or carried into an Enemy's Port, by the Ignorance of the Pilot, is No- B body answerable to the Owners for this Blunder?

I know there are Accidents in War which no Prudence can foresee, and no Wisdom prevent. A Mistake in the Word of Command has fometimes occasioned the Loss of a C Battle: A Fleet may be shipwreck'd, before it can execute fome Design which must ruin the Enemy. In Things the best concerted, Fortune will have some Share in the Execution. But, it is very easy to distinguish betwixt D those Disappointments which come from the Strokes of Fortune, and those which are the natural Consequence of blundering Counsels.

Some things are so absurd in their first Projection, that it is not in the Power of Fortune to give them Suc- E then tell the People, with an incels. ___ If, in a long Course of such Measures, Nobody is to be call'd to Account, what must become of the Commonwealth?

In Matters of Negotiation, Fortune cannot fo much as meddle; the Blunders are all of human In- F stitution, and a Minister may find himself in such Circumstances that, tho' he knows not how to preferve Peace, he dares not go to War .-When War is absolutely necessary for the State, it may threaten Ruin to the Minister.

Machiavel tells us, that a State has sometimes ow'd its Preservation to some imminent Danger which has fallen upon it; for Difficulty and Diffress (fays he) rouse the People, and have often forced them to wrest the Government out of the Hands of the Corrupt, the Weak, and the Base, to commit their Af-

If he who for his own Sake had refolv'd to preferve Peace, tho' to the Ruin of the publick Interests, should be driven into a War by the Voice of the Nation, he might be glad it should prove unsuccessful, that it might, in some Measure, justify his past Conduct; and he may have Talents to make it fo.

Suppose the Vizir had a Mind to have prevented a War, by some ignominious Concessions to Russia and the Empire, and the People were unanimous for War, he might be insolent enough to take it into his Head to be reveng'd on them for opposing his Measures; he might fend an Army of 100,000 Men against 10,000 Imperialists; he might fit out the whole Ottoman Fleet, tho' the Emperor had not ten Ships, on Purpose to impoverish the People by the great Expences. Such an unwieldy Army would only waste the Country, while the Fleet was making a foolish Parade. He might folent Sneer, You would have War, and fee what is come of it. But, I fancy, if any thing like this happen'd in Constantinople, the People would teach such a Fellow better Manners; they would make bold to tie his Heels to a Horse's Tail, and make him perform Amande bonour. able thro' all the Streets of the City, as some of his Predecessors had done for much less Crimes.

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A certain Person hath applauded himself enough, but it hath had no G Effect Abroad; the Fruits of his long boasted Talents were set forth, in a short Sentence, by one who hath been nearly concern'd with

him, when he very wifely declared, that the Nation had not one Ally Abroad, nor Money at Home to go to War.

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You hire two Persons to take Care of your House, who, by Carebegin to bestir yourself to put out this Fire, one of them calls to you, and tells you, you may as well be quiet, for I (fays he) have fet all your Neighbours against you, that not one of them will move a Hand to fave you; and my Fellow-Ser- B vant hath let all your Pipes run, that you have not a Drop of Water left; so that you may rest content, and fee your House consumed in Peace. -- I will appeal to every unprejudiced Man, whether two kick'd out of the Creation.

Universal Spectator, Nov. 3. Nº 578.

Hypocrisy in Religion expos'd, and SINCERITY recommended, in the different Characters of two LADIES. D Mr. Stonecastle,

YPOCRISY in Religion fo eafily imposes on the World, that there are few who fee thro its Artifices, and are sensible of the Cheat: On the contrary, the Generality of People in this Article al- E ways affift to deceive themselves. No one, I believe, has a greater Veneration for Persons truly religious than myself, yet no one has a greater Abhorrence of an affected Piety, and a Pretence to Superlative Virtues. Whenever I observe a rigid Severity F of Manners shewn in a publick Company, or hear any declamatory Invectives against the common Failures of human Nature, I am fulpiclous there is not that honest Truth of Heart which in Charity I could with; for I take this Observation to G be without Exception, that a Person of true Piety, who has no Defigns to carry on, like one of an eltab-

lish'd Fortune, always makes the least Noise: The one never pulls out his Money, the other never talks of Religion, but when there is Occasion for it.

About a Month ago I arriv'd at leffness set it on Fire; when you A London from the West of England, and was engag'd, during my Stay in Town, to retide with a Relation of mine, who had not been long marry'd to an agreeable young Lady. I was pleas'd when I found my Friend had made so happy a Choice; for with a great Share of Beauty, she had an engaging Sprightliness of Wit, and an affecting Good-Nature: Her Youth and Gaiety of Temper made her not averse to the innocent Amusements of Life, therefore could partake of the publick Diversions of fuch Fellows do not deserve to be C the Town, without any Suspicion of having committed a criminal Folly. As a Contrast to this Lady, whom I shall call Flavia, there liv'd with her an Aunt of my Friend, nam'd Mrs. Vizard, who having liv'd to her 50th Year without entering into the State of Matrimony, was come under the Denomination of an old Maid. The Humours of the Aunt and the Niece I found entirely opposite. Flavia was always gay, free, facetious, and good-natur'd; Mrs. Vizard referv'd, proud, peevish, and censorious: The one visited, and fometimes faw a Play; the other was always railing against the Vanity of wordly Conversation, the Sinfulness of indulging Pleasure, and commending the Sanctity of following private Lectures. One Afternoon Mrs. Vizard and I were accidentally left together in the Parlour, when the took an Opportunity of lamenting the Depravity of the prefent Age; the general Corruption of Mankind, but more particularly of the Clergy, were Topicks she very copiously declaim'd upon; then turning her Artillery of Censure against her own Sex, she inveigh'd against them as really guilty of all the Crimes

Crimes they were ever accus'd of, without making many Exceptions to fo general a Charge., I was furpriz'd that for zealous a Devotionist should be so uncharitably censorious, and was going to enter into an Argument, but she prevented me by im- A son, and some Hours, which she mediately venting her godly Spleen against Flavia: She told me a hundred reproachful Stories of her; she blam'd her Conduct in general, and did not fail to hint by some dark Innuendoes, that her Virtue was not fo unsuspected as she could wish it. B vants about her; the other never At this Juncture Flavia enter'd with a particular Sweetness in her Countenance, and requested Mrs. Vizard to go with her to fee fome Curiofities which a West-India Captain of her Acquaintance had just brought over, and with great Good- C with bitter Accusations and Scraps Nature press'd her to it, as it might divert her from the little Melancholy which she perceiv'd hung about her. Mrs. Vizard deny'd with an Air of fanctify'd Pride, and pity'd her Folly who could be so taken with the transitory Amusements of the World, D Duties of Piety: The one is what advising her, that she had much better go with her to a certain religious Society in Fetter-lane: But as this was a Proposal in which they could not agree, Mrs. Vizard hurry'd away to her Methodifts, and left us in so abrupt a E Manner, that too evidently betray'd a fecret Spleen, and a spiritual Contempt. I could not help observing to Flavia, that her Aunt was out of Temper, and hop'd to find by her Answer if any private Family Quarrel subsisted between them: But the F young Lady only faid, it was her Way; spoke of her in the most obliging Terms, nor mention'd the least Syllable that was any ways difrespectful. I then made no Difficulty to conclude, that this formal G Hypocrite was nothing near so truly virtuous and religious, as her Niece who kept her Devotion to herfelf; and in the short Stay that I made in the Family, I made a thousand Ob-

fervations which confirm'd me in this Opinion .- Flavia; I found, never spent much Time about her Drefs; Mrs. Vizard was particularly diligent in fetting out to the best ·Advantage the Charms of her Perwould have thought to be employ'd in pious Ejaculations, were dovoted to the adjusting her false Hair, and reviving the false Bloom of her Cheeks. The one was always affable, and good-natur'd to the Serpleas'd, and never without finding fault : Flavia, if she rally'd her Acquaintance, it was to their Face, and with an agreeable Facetiousness; whomever Mrs. Vizard cenfur'd, it was behind their Back, and of Scripture. In short, Flavia has Religion, and practifes the Duties of it without any Affectation of Over-Righteousness; Vizard affects Over-Righteousness, and does not so much study to practise the true the appears, devout with Sincerity; the other is not what she would ieem, devout without Hypocrify.

What Application I would have your Female Readers make from the Characters of these two Ladies, would be entirely for their Interest: I would advise them not negligently to lay afide the Appearance of being religious, neither to run into an affected, rigid Severity which is inconfistent with Religion: By the one, they are liable to the false Censures of the World; by the other, they are juftly to be suspected of being Hypocrites.

L. OBSERVATOR. Yours,

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Common Sense, Nov. 3. No 144.

The Importance of a State's preserving its Reputation, and the nice Senje of Honour among the Romans.

T is an Observation made by Historians and Writers of Poli-

ticks, that Reputation contributes more to the Success of all great Affairs, than Power or Force. Commonwealths (fays Tacitus) flourish, magis Fama quam Vi, more by Fame than Strength. So that a Nation will, in all Probability, not long have any Thing elfe to take Care of.

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The fuffering Infults and Injuries to pass unregarded, is a Proof, that those appointed to act for the Society are negligent of its Interests. from Want of Courage, which is a fatal Imputation when fix'd upon a People: But nothing hurts a Nation fo much in the good Opinion of its Neighbours, as an ignominious freaty; because it discovers an extreme Weakness of Counsel within, and C gives the World a Notion, that those appointed to administer Affairs have not Talents to govern. ___ I believe it hath been found, by Experience, that the Loss of many Battles doth not render a Nation to contemptible, as one ignominious Treaty.

If a Nation couches only to wait for some favourable Event to rise again, when its exhaulted Spirits shall be recovered, the Governors ought not to be censured; but even in this Cale all possible Care must be taken to make the Thing look well, that E nothing dishonourable may appear to the World:—At worst, it is much better your Neighbours thould think you want Strength, than that you want Conduct syllob ad bluedt

The Rife and Grandeur of the great Measure, owing to the keeping up of a nice Sense of Honour in all Things relating to the Publick. The preferring of Honour to present Profit was no Phantome, or idle Chimera, as some People now would make us believe: It was a O to do, fent a Herald to Pomius, to wile as well as generous Maxim.

There are but two Examples in the Raman History, wherein they

came off with any Thing like Difgrace in Matters of Negotiation. The first of these was with Brennas the Gaul, after he had gain'd a compleat Victory over the Roman Army, upon the Banks of the River that takes no Care of its Fame, A Alliu, had taken Rome, and befieged the very Capitol. In this Diffress, they treated with him, and agreed to pay him a certain Quantity of Gold to raise the Siege and march off-It was look'd upon as diffenourable to purchase their Safety with It may be understood also to proceed B Gold, at a Time they had not a Spot of Ground left in the World which they could call their own, except what was within the Walls of the Capitol. 1910 salt ander stadt

The fecond was, a Convention made with the Sammer, the Circumstances of which are worth relating to was a Politicity (the at gnital

The Romans being at War with the Samnites, their Army was commanded by T. Veturius and P. Poftbumius, the Confuls for the Year;they were drawn into an Ambulcade D by Pontius, General of the Samnites, who disguising several of his Soldiers like Herdfmen, instructed them to give a falle Account of the Samnite Army: These being taken by the Romans, told them; that the Samnites had march'd towards Lucoria. I Co or Ministra

The Confuls not doubting but they were gone to befiege that City, then in Alliance with the Porani, refolv'd to follow them, and oblige them to raise the Siege. Thus the Romans were drawn into a Snare; Commonwealth of Rome was, in a F for, taking the shortest way fas was natural) they march'd to the Streights of Caudium, where they were enclofed, so that they could neither march out, nor come at the Enemy to engage them. que svig or lanamak

The Confuls, not knowing what challenge him to come to a Battle; but he wifely zniwerd, that the Sammites had no Occasion to fight, having having already gain'd a Victory. The Confuls then proposed a Treaty: Pontius answer'd, he would not so much as treat with them, unless the Romans, by way of Preliminary, would deliver up their Arms, and their whole Army would fubmit to A to a Convention upon the Foot of march under the Gallows.

The Confuls having call'd a Council of War, and it appearing there was no Alternative, but either to Submit to these hard Conditions, or to perish by Famine, the lagority were for fuffering the latter; when they were B turn'd from it by L. Lentulus, who deliver'd himself in these Terms:

"I have heard my Father fay, that, when the Capitol was befieg'd by the Gauls, he was the only Man in the Senate who opposed redeeming the City with Gold, because C tunate Postbumius was the first who there was a Possibility (tho' attended with infinite Difficulty) of fallying out. Were the Case the same with us at present, were it possible for us to make Sallies, could we fo much as come at our Enemy, or was there a bare Possibility of our forcing a Pas- D binding unless the People should fage thro' them, I would convince all here, that I have the same Resolution, and should declare for fighting under any Disadvantage.

Could we devote ourselves for the Preservation of our Country, we ought most certainly to do it; but E those that had sign'd this infamous Rome is at prefent in this Place; its Strength and Support lies within these Streights. What can a weak unarm'd Multitude of old Men, Women, and Children, left behind, do. for the Preservation of the City? The Walls, and Houses cannot de-F fend them; if all that are here perith, those that remain in the City must fall of Course.

It hath been faid, that it is shameful to give up our Arms without fighting ; I fay fo too : But, fince facrificing our Lives can G able, it met with no Opposition be of no Advantage to Rome, we must facrifice our Glory for its Preservation: For the fake of Rome, I

fay, we must submit to the shameful Conditions imposed upon us. We must yield to Necessity, from which the Gods themselves are not exempt."

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It was therefore refolv'd to come the Preliminaries before-mention'd. As to the other Articles, the Confuls declared, they had not a Power of concluding any that should be binding on the Roman People, without their own Approbation; however, the Stipulation was accepted by the Samnites upon these Terms, and Hostages accordingly exchang'd.

When the Confuls and the rest were return'd to Rome, and this Convention came under the Confideration of the Senate, the unforspoke to it, who addressing himself to the Assembly, with the greatest Modesty and Humility, confess'd, it was a most infamous Convention; but, as he had declared to the Samnites, that the Articles were not approve them; if the People did not approve of them, (as he confess'd they had no Reason to do) nothing more could be expected from the Republick, than to deliver into the Hands of the Samnites all Convention.-His humble Advice therefore was, that himself, his Colleague, and all the rest that had a Hand in this profane Convention, should be deliver'd up to the Samnites by the new Confuls; and that, as foon as this was done, they might raife another Army and renew the War.

The whole Affembly was ftruck with Admiration and Respect at the Generolity of Postbumius .- The Proposal appear'd just and honourexcept from two Tribunes of the People, who had fign'd the Convention, and were elected into their

Office fince their Return; they objected, that the Proposal of Postbumius was irregular, because the Tribunes being facred Magistrates, their Persons were inviolable, and therefore they could not be deliver'd into the Hands of an Enemy without an A Offence against Law and Religion.

Posthumius, conceiving an Indignation against them for raising an Objection which only concern'd their own Safety, answer'd, it was true, their Offices were facred, till their Offices were expired, then cause them to be whipp'd with Rods in the publick Forum, by Way of Usury, for the Delay; and as foon as this Ceremony was perform'd they might be fent to the Samnites.

The Tribunes were fo fensibly touch'd with Shame at this Reproach, that they voluntarily furrender'd their Offices, and defired to be deliver'd up to the Enemy with the reft.

Rome had one Advantage, which D scarce any Government now enjoys, that its Magistracies being annual, it could not be ruin'd by the Blundering of any one fet of Ministers; next, fo nice a Sense of Honour and of Shame prevail'd amongst them, that he who had once acted E wrong, had not the Affurance to meddle a second Time in publick Affairs.

HE Craftsman of the 3d In-Stant fets down some of the first Clauses of bis Majesty's Declaration of F War, and Extracts from two Political Pamphlets, printed this Year, one on each Side, in three distinct Columns; on order to show who are best justified in their Conduct, by the Course of Events, and especially by his Majesty's Declaration of War. He then con- G cludes thus:

The ministerial Writers, I am fure, must now turn their old, stale, School-

\$ 500 to Brace 5 26.

boy's Cant, Pax Bello potior, into Pax quæritur Bello. I am ready to agree with them, that all Hearts and all Hands ought to be united upon this Occasion, in the common Cause; which can never be effected without fuch a national Union, or Coalition of Parties, as we have constantly recommended, and they as constantly oppos'd. I am not afham'd to revive this Doctrine, at present, however scandalously it hathbeen ridicul'd already, and may be therefore the Senate might wait B again; for I am thoroughly convinc'd, that nothing will so effectually strengthen the Hands of his Majesty, and that nothing will promote fuch a Coalition fo much, as a Place-Bill, which hath been fo earneftly infifted upon in some of the C capital Cities of the Kingdom, and I hope will foon become the general Voice of the Nation.

Craftiman, Nov. 10. Nº 696.

A Project for new Pontifical Annals

HAVE been just reading a little Book, written in French, and intitled, Differtation fur l'Incertitude des cinq premiers Siecles de l'Histoire Romaine. The Defign of it is to shew, according to its Title, that we cannot depend upon the Truth of the Roman History, for the first five Centuries; and I think he hath done it pretty well, in the following STUDULIAN

First he quotes the Authority of Cicero; who fays that the History of Rome, during that Time, confifted of nothing but a Collection of Annals; for which Reason, and in order to preserve the Memory of all publick Occurrences, it was the Bufiness of the Pontifex maximus to record the Events of every Year. They were written upon a white Board, and publickly hungl up at the Pontiff's Door, for the Information and Judgment of the People; which were call'd the Pontifical or Grand

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Grand Annals. But my Author is of Opinion, and gives his Reasons for it, that these Memoirs were consum'd in the general Conflagration of Rome, by Brennus the Gaul, and afterwards very imperfectly continued—Upon this I must beg Leave to make a A of 17 Generations, should ever think few Observations.

As the first Ages of our own Hiftory are equally dark with those of the Romans, and confit chiefly of Monkish Annals I would humbly propole, that for the lake of future Times, our present most reverend Pon- B old Knight of Bath, from whom he tiff, and his Successors for ever, should be defir'd and authoriz'd to take a strict Account, from Year to Year, of all publick Transactions, and exhibit them to the open View of the People at his Palace-Gates. If fuch a Custom had prevail'd from O the Beginning of our Government, and the Pontifical Annals had been religiously preserv'd, what an Eclairciffement would it have given to our History? But since what is past cannot be remedied, we ought to take the best Care in our Power for the D his Pedigree from the same Family, future. Let us suppose, for Instance, that if all our late Treaties, and particularly the last ever-memorable Convention had been fluck up at Lambeth, before they were fign'd and ratified, for the Inspection and Judgment of the People; would it not E have been of some Use to the Publick, at prefent, as well as for the Information of future Ages? Tho' I think it impossible that any Conflagration, or other Injuries of Time, will be ever able to erafe them from the Knowledge of Posterity.

The second Reason of the same Author for the Uncertainty of the Roman History, when the Pontifical Anmals were destroyed, or loft, is, that Family Memoirs were substituted in their Stead, upon which there is much less Dependence than on the G other; for as Vanity tempted every Man to record all the great and glo-

ritus Actions of his Family, fo it is equally natural to suppose, that their bad Actions were either totally conceal'd, or palliated .- Thus, if a certain bosourable Gentleman, who hath long valued himself upon a Descent fit to compile any Annals of his Family, I make a great Doubt whether he will not flip over his Relation, the Jesuit, who was engaged in a Plot to poison Q. Elizabeth and the Earl of Effex; but the descended, and the wife Negotiations of his Brother abroad, as well as his own righteous Management at home, would certainly be transmitted to Posterity in the strongest and most impartial Light.

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There is likewise great Reason, and even Authority, to believe that many an Upftart, or Creature of Fortune, whose Name happen'd to refemble that of any ancient Roman, diftinguish'd in History for his Valour, Wisdom, or Justice, deriv'd tho' he had not a Drop of their Blood in his Veins, and perhaps had his Name given him only for a Jeft, or to gratify the Pride of an obleure Parent; just as we give the Name of Pompey and Confur to poor Negroes, and even to Dogs. This puts me in Mind of an itinerant Painter, named Jull, who told me that it was only a Contraction of Julius, and that he had a very good Family-Account that his Ancestor was a Bye-Blow of Julius Cafar, when he landed in

Livy gives us his Opinion, that nothing hath contributed to corrupt the Roman History to much as funeral Orations, and the flattering Inscriptions upon Images; every Family endeavouring fallaciously to wrest the Glory of all great Men to them. felves, &c. Cicero too makes the fame Complaint. + These Funeral Odistance with their old, their, School-

which were call'd the Percital or · Lib. 8, cup. 40.

+ Cic. in Brut, c. 16.

vations, fays he, have contributed a good deal to the Falfification of our History; for there are many Things goritten in them, which were never transacted; fictitions Triumphs, fictitious Confulfhips, and fictitious Pedigrees, by which Persons of mean Birth pre- A tend to have sprung from some of the noblest Families, only because they happen to bear the lame, or a fimi-

lar Name, &c.old & se file up of What a Bleffing is it to this Nation, that we have a Faneral Orator, who hath fo great a Regard for his B Advantage to the Nation. own Character, and the Credit of his holy Function, that he fcorns to play the Sycophant, or be-drop even Majefly itself, either living or dead, from any fordid Views of Preferment. On the contrary, it must be owing to his extreme Mo- C defty and Self-denial, that he hath not yet receiv'd the Reward, fo justly due to his extraordinary Merit. But if the publick Good should ever prevail upon him to accept of the British Pontificate, we might ex-Predecessors, without any Fear of appealing to the Judgment of the People; for his Annals would be certainly drawn up, not only with the greatest Accuracy, but with the frictest Regard to Truth, and withpy and for ever glorious will those Persons be, whose Characters shall become the Subject of his Panegyrick, which is of itself the highest Authority, and will confectate their Memories to all future Generations! But Woe be to those, (whether Pa- F pifts or Protestants, Whigs or Tories, Clergymen or Laymen, of the Court or will not stand the Test of the nicest Examination! For if they should be found concern'd in Bribery and Corthe publick Treasure, Icreening of notorious Criminals, or any fuch unwar-

rantable Practices, they would be

fure of being publickly fligmatiz'd in their Life-Time, and deliver'd down to Posterity in their true Colours. 12 . mora

If Lambeth should be thought too private a Place for fuch a glorious Institution, I would humbly propose, that Tables of all publick Transactions may be hung up at Westminsterhall Gate, Temple-Bar, and the Royal Exchange; which would, no Doubt, tend very much to the Satisfaction of the People, and prove of fignal would have begin by making his

Gommon Senfe, Nov. 10. No 145.

The CONVENTION between the ROMANS and the SAMNITES, with OBSERVATIONS. (See p. 597.)

OO much Magnanimity poffes'd the Minds of the Romans, that, as foon as the Conditions of the Convention with the Samilles were known at Rome, the whole City put on Mourning; which is more than would have happen'd had the Army pect to see him vie with his Roman D perish'd in Battle to the last Man; But a publick Difgrace was, to them, a more publick Calamity than Sword or Pestilence.

After some Observations on the Behaviour of Posthumius, and particularly bis Proposal, that be, and all the out either Rancour or Flattery. Hap- E reft who had figh'd the Convention. should be deliver'd up to the Samnites, to be treated at their Mercy; this Writer goes on thus:

This is the generous Proposal of an unfortunate Man of Honour who had made but one false Step in his whole Life. Thus he condemns himfelf, for having been the unfortunate innocent Cause of bringing upon his Country the Difgrace of having made a scandalous Convention.

Had the like Event happen'd in the latter Days of the Commonruption, feeling of Offices, embezzling G wealth, or in the Reign of some of their foolish Emperors, when the Senate was dwindled into the Sign of a Senate, when the Interest of

the Commonwealth was facrificed to the private Interest of every Up-Hart in Power, and Rome was become a Sink of Corruption, this Affair might have gone off in a diffe-

rent Manner.

He who had most scandalously Amanaged the War, and concluded it by a more scandalous Convention, would, perhaps, have flood up, and, with Impudence in his Face, addreffing himself to the Senate, with an Air of Command, as if he consider'd them only as his hired Slaves, B that it is likely to produce a War. would have begun by making his own Panegyrick, would have taken Glory to himself for the Infamy he had brought upon the Publick; have told them, that every Thing they could ask or expect had been obtain'd by this Convention; —that C be confiftent either with the Hoif a Carte Blanche had been deliver'd to the Senate to write their own Terms, they could have obtain'd nothing better; -- that the great Seal of the Samnites had been put to it, and that it would do Honour to every Man that had a Hand D imitate the Conduct of the Romans, in it.——He might fancy, that, by the Force of fuch an over-bearing Affurance, he should so amaze the honest Part of the Senate, (his Enemies) that they would be struck dumb, and that Truth itself would be put out of Countenance.

Here I cannot forbear observing, that of all the bad Characters in human Nature, there is none fo detestable as that of a Man who hath lost the Sense of Shame: He that shews no Concern for having been the Instrument of Injury to another, F must be far gone in Wickedness: He that brings Lofs and Infamy upon his Country, and is so far from taking Shame to himself, that he feems rather to glory in it, must have a Heart fitted for any Thing that's bad. They fay, a Crocodile G will weep after it hath done Mifchief: A corrupt Man is a greater Monster than Nile ever bred

I will allow, that no Parallel can be drawn betwixt our Convention with Spain, and that of the Romans with Brennus, or of T. Veturius, and P. Postbumius with the Samnites; the Circumstances are vastly different: - Our Capitol was not in Pos-

fession of the Enemy, nor the whole Force of the State shut up in a Pound by the Spaniards, and ready to be cut off at a Blow .- In fine, our Convention can refemble that with the Samnites in nothing, but

Notwithstanding there can be no Similitude, yet, if those who negotiated for us were the first who broke Faith, by promising Things not proper for them to own at Home, and, if own'd, would not nour or Safety of the Nation to be put in Execution, and this hath furnish'd the Spaniards with Reasons for not performing their Part: If this be the Case, I think we cannot, in Honour, strike a Blow before we and deliver all our Negotiators into the Hands of the Spaniards.

Cornelius Arvina was appointed, by the Senate, to conduct Postburnius and the rest. When he deliver'd them to the Samnites, he spoke as

E follows,

" Since these Men, without sufficient Powers, undertook to enter into a Convention with you, they committed a Crime in so doing; we, therefore, deliver them up to you, to treat in what Manner you shall think fit, to free ourselves from any Share of that Infamy, which they have drawn upon themfelves."

If these Words do not come up to our Case, another Speech may be made for the Purpole.

A Minister may sometimes be so embarrass'd with Difficulties of his own making, that he may be under a Necessity of patching up a Pacifihav fec and of ver fup gag

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cation upon any Terms; --- he may be conscious of his own Incapacity for managing a War; he may have given the Commonwealth fome fecret Wounds, not yet discover'd, and which must break out in Case vent Divisions in that Faction which supports him, he may be under Engagements to them, to patch up something by a certain Time .-In such a Situation, it would be no Wonder if he should make such might think the People would never suffer to be carried into Execution. -But as our Minister hath not been entangled in any Blunders of his own making, nothing like this could have happen'd in our Convention.

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But, before I finish this Discourse, I must say a Word or two concerning the Place-mens Doctrine, of making the Minister easy; which, I conceive, may be stretch'd to fuch an Extravagance, as to fuba Nation upfide down. --- Whereever it prevails, it will be known by the Symptoms and Effects; and when once it is found out to be the governing Principle, the Interests of that Commonwealth are gone, they bours.

But let the Fate of the Convention be what it will, I hope a few mercenary Place-men will never be able to give Laws to ten Millions of People, and support any Man that dom.

Universal Spectator, Nº 577.

A Letter from a QUAKER, shewing the Absurdity of placing any Part of Religion in DRESS. SIR,

S I think it my Duty to conlider the Religion of my Edu-

cation, which is Quakerism, I am very forry to meet with any Mixture in it which feems the Product of a weak and whimfical Imagination, and is big with Injuries to all true Religion, and also to civil Soof a War; -- and, in order to pre- A ciety. Of this Kind I always thought the great Concern about Drefs, and enjoining one Form of it as more confiltent with Religion than another. Tho' nothing is more frequent than for the very Upholders of this Practice to make folemn Declarations in Concessions, as the very Enemies B religious Assemblies, that neither Forms nor Titles will render a Person more or less acceptable to the Author of his Being; yet I am forry to find the louder Speech of their Actions runs quite counter to this Declaration, fince a supernumerary C Button or two, or the Alteration of the Cut or Colour of a Coat will not only give them real Disturbance, but make them entertain a much worse Opinion of the Wearer, with Regard to his religious State.

Were it the only ill Confequence vert the Order of Things, and turn D of such a Principle, that it furnishes unnecessary Matter of Debate amongit the feveral Constituents of Families, and often breaks or weakens the Union of the nearest Relations, it ought to render it the Averfion of all Men, who have a just must become the Prey of its Neigh- E Value for that great Happiness of Mankind, Peace and Concord, which ought never to be endanger'd but where our Duty to God makes it absolutely necessary. 'Tis an obvious Truth, that the less Disagreement subfists amongst any Set of shall ruin the Interest of the King- F Men, they are on that Account more focial, more ready to do kind Offices to one another; therefore he who introduces or encourages Caufes of Diffension in any Thing, unless he thereby raifes himself higher in Virtue and Religion, is an injurious G Member of Society: But as true Religion is immutable, therefore Drefs, that can be vary'd at Pleasure, can be no Part of it; for what can be

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But the worst Consequence of this idle Practice, and all of the like Nature, is, that it renders Religion, which in its Nature is fomple and easy to be known, and is every Man's Duty and Interest to be truly B acquainted with, mysterious and dubious; for when one Sect annexes to it fomething that has nothing to do with it, and another fomething elfe, it grows fo difguis'd and hidden under Forms and Ceremonies, that endless Debates arise concerning it, and C Judgment and Power to provide Velevery Person, instead of contending for real Religion, does it for an Image of his own Creation: From this it is that the Papist Priest would not think himself, nor be thought, truly religious, unless the Habit in which he offer'd his Devotion was of a cer- D Dyes, with which the other Parts tain prescrib'd Form; as a Quaker would be very flightly thought of, that should presume to offer his in a Coat of either red or green, or a button'd Hat.

One grand Mistake, which probably led our Fathers into this Opi- E nion, was, that they in their Idea always join'd Ornament and Pride, which have nothing to do with one another, and are quite inconnected. Horatio can put on a laced Waistcoat, yet no Person acquainted with him will accuse him of Pride: I may F less worthy a Copy than the Works admire a fine House, a beautiful Garden or Landscape, without any more Pride than if I was looking on a Kennel. Pride confifts in thinking too bighly of ourselves, and too meanly of others, and is only chargeable on those who assume to themselves G undue Superiority in any Endowment: Thus the Pharifee, who thank'd God he was not as other Men, was

religiously proud; and I fear, if they would give themselves a reasonable Examination, some of the greatest Zealots for the Observance of triffing Forms, might find themselves deeply dipt in this Crime.

If we look into Nature, and may prefume to judge of what God approves from what he has created, we must confess he delights in Beauty, Gaiety and Ornament ; Fields, Trees, Flowers, Beafts, Birds and Infects, the whole animal and vegetable Creation, is a charming Scene of Beauty and Variety; Colour and Shape are vary'd into ten thousand beautiful and gaudy Appearances; fuch are the Cloaths the Author of Nature has invested those Beings with, to whom he did not give ture for themselves.

For his Creature Man he has plentifully provided the Materials, and left it to him to put them together; he has provided him Matter capable of producing all those beauteous of the Creation are adorn'd by his own Hand: Gold, Silver and Silk, are neither serviceable for Meat or Drink; yet, being put to their proper Use, Ornament, are the Causes of giving Employment and a comfortable Subfiliance to Thoulands; and at the same Time, by adorning human Bodies, make Mankind bear a confistent and fimilar Part in the great and beautiful Picture of the Universe; and in making this Use of these Things, they imitate no of their Creator.

I don't at all by this intend to defend Extravagance, or to fet up the Decoration of the Body in Competition with that of the Mind, but would have each of them have their just Regard from us; the last is certainly highly preferable, and ought to ingross the most of our Time and Attention, as the former ought 10

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be much more indifferent to us; yet, as external Beauty is more eligible than the Want of it, 'tis not to be totally neglected, much less despis'd, or avoided as criminal.

There will at the Head of every vernors and Directors; I would defire fuch to act firictly within the Sphere of religious Duties, and neither enjoin or recommend Laws for our Condust in Matters, wherein Virtue and Vice have no Being, but which are indiffeevery Man, independent of all religious Societies, has a Right to please himself; all the Obligation he can in the least be under, is that of shewing himself social and complying with the Customs of his Difadvantage in fo doing, this being a Complacency which naturally breeds Good-Humour, and furnishes no Grounds of Wrangling and Debate, which oftenest arise from differing in infignificant Trifles.

another to do justly, love Mercy, and walk bumbly with God, which are Acts of the Mind, and may as early be perform'd in one Coat as another; and let us admit every Person to make his Clothes to please himout a Licence from any Priest or Pope

on Earth.

PHILALETHES.

Craftsman, Nov. 17. Nº 697.

OBSERVATIONS occasion'd by the De- F claration of WAR, with the late POLITICKS on both Sides compar'd.

HEN a fingte Person hath engros'd the Royal Favour for many Years, and assum'd the Power of dictating Counfels to his Master, vants to the least Participation, it becomes extremely difficult to defeat his Measures, in any Degree,

or to prevent the ill Effects of them, tho' it were ever fo apparent that they tended to the Destruction both

of Prince and Country.

For let the Justice and Goodness of the Prince be never so well religious Society naturally be some Go- A known; yet as long as his Considence is absolutely repos'd in one Minister, and the Advice of that Minister constantly finds an uncontroulable Credit with him, it can not be expected that the greatesi and wifest of his Counsellors will ever venrent Things; in the Choice of which B ture to disabuse him; especially if they have feen some of his most faithful and able Servants dismiss'd, for not yielding an implicit Obedience to the Minister. They will think it more prudent to referve themselves to a better Season. They will wait Countrymen, in case there be no real C till the Conduct of the Minister shall expose itself in the most glaring Manner, till the Difficulties he blunders into shall prepare the Royal Ear for founder Advice; because the certain Effect of offering good Advice, whilft the Power of the To conclude, let us admonish one D Minister with the Prince remain'd irrefiftible, would be exposing themfelves to his Revenge, without a Poffibility of doing any Good.

A Minister, of this Vizier Kind, would regard the Interest of Prince or Country only as subservient to self, without the Necessity of taking E bis own. Affairs, both abroad and at home, would be always conducted with this fingle View. War of Peace would be the Portion of the Country, as either should be thought most conducive to his Ease and Security. If his Pufillanimity should represent War as a State of Danger, always to be avoided, left it should interrupt the quiet Enjoyment of his despotick Authority; or draw from him those Treasures, which his Interest requir'd for other Purposes; or, perhaps, left it should introduce to the without admitting his Fellow-Ser- G Favour and Confidence of his Prince, Men of military Honour and Experience, who would not be subservient to his Commands; whatever might

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be his Motives, or his Fears, he would be deaf to the Cries of a whole Nation; he would never be diverted from a fruitless Train of Negotiations, Treaties, Preliminaries, Conventions, and specious Pacifications and exclaim'd against every pacific of every Kind. If a Conduct quite A Expedient, almost annually offer'd. contrary to the Bent of the People should produce a general Murmuring, and a strong Opposition to himfelf, he would not fail to assure his Prince that it was owing to a mutinous and feditious Temper against his Government.

Solomon fays, that in the Multitude of Counfellors there is Safety. It must therefore be happy, both for Prince and People, when the Royal Favour is unconfin'd, and freely communicated to all his faithful Counsellors. Then will some Men be found of C Probity and Ability enough to advise such Measures, as will soon convince the Prince of the true Disposition of his People.

I do not intend to apply these Reflections wholly to the present Times; but I have been led into D have ever enter'd the Closet, what a them, by observing the Tenour of those Differtations, with which the Band of Gazetteers have oblig'd the

Publick for fome Years past.

The Cruelties of the Spaniards to our Sailors have been either constantly deny'd, or diminish'd. The E War hath been proclaim'd? Such Depredations of our Merchants have been, in a good Measure, justify'd, on Pretence of illicit Trade. War, especially with the Spaniards, hath been represented as a Measure fo much to be avoided by a trading Nation, that no Injuries should pro- F voke us to enter upon it. The various Treaties and Pacifications made, from Time to Time, have been all applauded in their Day, tho' constantly found delusive and ineffectual. On the contrary, it hath been maintain'd, both by speaking and Gweak and helples Condition of writing, that the Spanish Insolence was grown to exorbitant by our Tameness and Forbearance, that no-

thing could convince them we dated to refent their Infults, but turning our inactive Squadrons into hostile Fleets. The Voice of the People univerfally concurr'd in this Sentiment, and exclaim'd against every pacifick

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What should the trusty Stipendiaries of Power do, in such a Case? The Voice of the People is diametrically opposite to the Conduct of the Minifter. Why then the People, great and fmall, are feditious, impatient B of legal Government, infensible of their Felicity, and attempting to involve their Country in War, in order to make way for the Pretender. I appeal to the whole World, whether this hath not been the language of these Writers. But it cannot be suppos'd that such Misrepresentations have reach'd the Royal Ear. No Presumption of Superior Power and Credit can have embolden'd any Man to fuch a Leefingmaking of the Poeple to their Sovereign; or if any fuch Whispers Delight must it give to every true Lover of his King and Country, to fee them so effectually refuted by the loyal Acclamations of all Ranks of Men in every City and Town, where bis Majesty's Declaration of an unfeigned Zeal for his Service, as well as fuch an Animofity against our cruel Enemèes, hath been univerfally express'd, that a more vigorous Resentment against that baughty and faitbless Nation could not have appear'd even in the glorious Days of Q. Elizabeth.

Many People with that the generous Spirit of Resentment, which discovers itself every where, had been indulg'd some Years sooner; being of Opinion that the present Spain shews how easily she might have been brought to Terms, when the had no Reason to hope for the Affiftance

Affistance of France, and before France was arriv'd at her present

Height of Power.

It is not my Bufiness to say, by whose wife Advice Britain is at last in a Posture to avenge her the Power of her Fleets hath been fo long restrain'd; nor whether the Assigne Ships, as well as the Carraccas, might not have been taken by proper Orders.-Those Points, and many others, will receive a full and impartial Examination in a Place, B where no Tenderness to explore, and no Backwardness to discover bidden Mysteries of any Sort will be found; and where all Matters concerning the State of the Nation will be thoroughly fearch'd to the

Then will all Hearts and Hands unite with Emulation to support a War, so necessary to the Honour of our King, and the Happiness of our Country; whether we should be forc'd to carry it on fingly against united Growns, or in Conjunction D

with our old Allies.

When they fee the ancient Valour of England vigorously exerted, and the Counfels of it resolutely and steadily pursued, they will, doubt, return to their former Confidence in us. If they should ask E what is become of some brave Generab, with whose Courage and Honour they were fo well acquainted in the last War, they will find them ready to return from their Retireties of Europe.

What have been the Effects of all our boasted Wisdom? - Is it not to be wish'd that Europe was now in the fame Condition, as when the ter'd into that Alliance with France against the Emperor, to which the present formidable Power of the

former Crown is owing? -- That we had never carried Don Carlos and his Spanish Troops into Italy; and consequently that the Emperor had never been engag'd in the Italian War; or else that he had been Wrongs; nor by whose Counsels A supported in it, so as to have preferv'd his Strength as a Bulwark against France, and to have prevented the important Acquisition of Lorain? -- That the Emperor had not been encourag'd to concern himfelf in the Polish Election, which drew him into the War with the Turk? -That our Friendship with France had not been cultivated fo far as to make us connive at the Reparation of Dunkirk, which may prove very foon a sharp Thorn in our Sides?

What can be meant by faying, C that we have forborne to make War, till it hath been forc'd upon us by Necessity, and therefore we need not doubt of Success in it? Would not Success in a War have been much less doubtful three or four Years ago, or at any Time fooner? Can any Success attend our Arms without Reproach to those, who have tied them up fo long? Was it not evident that the Spaniards would never relinquish their usurp'd Right of fearching, till they were compell'd to it by Force; and consequently was not a War then as necessary, as it would have been fafe and eafy? -- But did not our honourable Minister oppose a War to the last? - Did he not call it another Man's War? -- If therement, and resume their Arms in Defore it should prove as successfunce of their Country, and the Liber- F sul as every good Englishman wishes, he will have no Right to the Credit of it; but if it should fail of Success, thro' his own bad Manage-ment, he will be certainly answerable for the Consequences of it. He must not think to put the old Spirit of Negotiation first seiz'd upon He must not think to put the old us?— That we had never en-G School-boy's Trick upon us, Heads I win, and Tails you lose; or even his Prelatical Advocate's Argument, which is much of the fame Cast,

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* that the Judgment from Events is

not the Judgment of Reason.

It is no new Thing to fee the whole City of London abus'd by a mercenary Faction, when any great Exigency, or imminent Danger, hath forc'd them to a publick Declara- A Mask. tion against the Measures of that Faction's Patron. It must be remember'd that the Patron himself did the fame, in the most opprobrious Terms, on the Defeat of that execrable Scheme for extending the Excise-Laws. His Creatures have followed B felves had been imposed npon; his Example, in a most licentious Manner, upon a late Incident. The Citizens of London judg'd it proper to exert their known, acknowledg'd Right, at the last Election of a Lord-Mayor. (See p. 499.) They rejected, almost unanimously, the Pretensions of one, C whose Conduct was so suddenly and furprizingly chang'd. At the fame Time, they return'd Thanks to their Representatives for voting against the late Convention. They likewise recommended to their Representatives the Repeal of a Clause in that Ad, D ther, that they may riot in the which gives to the Court of Aldermen what is call'd the Negative. Can it be faid, with any Colour of Truth; that they acted illegally, or that they have fo much as gone out of their Way, in so doing? Yet have we seen a Pack of infamous Hirelings E prefuming to threaten this great Corporation with the Weight of Parliamentary Punishment, for Actions justly and naturally flowing from a Charter of Liberties, more often and more folemnly confirm'd than, perhaps, any other Right in the Kingdom.

Common Sense, Nov. 17. Nº 146.

CAUTIONS against chusing a Parliament of PLACEMEN.

CHAKESPEAR compares fome Misfortunes to a Toad, which, tho' a Creature ugly and hideous, G protect the like Practices in others. yet fometimes a precious Jewel is found in its Head.

I think the same Simile will fit our late Convention, which, with all its Deformities, hath also carried a Jewel in its Head. What I mean is, that it hath put our Placemen under a Necessity of taking off the

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When other unpopular Measures have been taken, they vouchfafed to offer some bad Reasons in their Defence. If they found they could uot impose upon us, they hoped to make us believe that they thembut now they feem weary of dif-

fembling,

They have frankly declared, they have nothing to do with the Merit of any publick Measure; they are to defend their Leader, and their Leader is to protect them.-King and Country are out of the Cafe with them, - they are neither Guelphs nor Ghibelines :- They are neither of the Patrician nor Plebeian Party; but, like Catiline and his Conspirators, they are to flick by one ano-Spoils of the Commonwealth.

Talk to a Placeman of such a Man's robbing the Publick at home, and ruining its Interests by his Blunders abroad, he will answer like the French Surgeon, who vifiting the Abby of St. Denis, fell upon his Knees before the Tomb of Leavis XI. which one of the Monks cbferving, told him, that was not the Tomb of a Saint .- He may not be your Saint, good Father, answer'd the Surgeon, but he is mine; for it F was he first brought the Pox into France, by which I have gain'd 150,000 Livres. Just fo do Placemen reason upon a Minister's Merits. - Is he corrupt? Then he is our Saint; we shall gain 150,000 Livres apiece by it; for he mult

Give a Man all the Employments in a large Empire, and let him have merot in 19 20

an immense secret Service Money without Account, and he may be able to remove all the Terrors that threaten guilty Men. Impunity (fays Cicero) hath tempted many a Man to Crimes, which he would not otherwise have thought of. - Here A will be Wealth and Power to tempt him on one Side, and Security on the other; fo that, in the Space of a few Years, he may fortify himself in Corruption, and grow impregnable in Roguery.

what is got by Rapine, is often fpent in Luxury; and when I fee the expensive Bluildings of one of these Placemen, and observe how the Houses of the neighbouring Gentry are going to Ruin, it puts me in Neighbour, that draws all the Nourithment away from other Plants, grows vastly high itself, and starves every Thing about it : A strong Example of which may be seen a little Northward, where the whole Reve-House; and a better Estate crowded into a Closet, than the Owner was born to; -- at the fame Time that Trade and Manufactures are declining, and a growing Poverty spreads around the Neighbourhood.

Distance from a new Election, I do not think it too foon to give the Electors some Cautions against chusing a Placeman.

Numerous Employments have already occasion'd strange Revolutions Peafant, who has the good Fortune to be admitted a low Domestick in some Placeman's Family, and afterwards made Clerk in some Office thro' which the publick Money paffes, hath return'd, in a few Years, a great Man into his Country, and G Mismanagements and Corruptions bribed the Country Gentleman out of his own Borough; perhaps the very Gentleman to whose Bounty our

Candidate's poor Forefathers were beholden for their Bread :--This is one mortifying Effect of the great Profit of Places, of which more Instances than one may be given within these forty Years.

How are Estates made in Offices? By Perquifites, which is but another Name for fo many Frauds; for tho' their Salaries are larger than they ought to be, such great Estates cannot be rais'd out of the Savings of a Salary, confidering that Placemen It is a true Observation, that B are the People of Expence, and that give the Example of all Kinds of Luxury.

Will a Representative of Placemen pay off the publick Debts, and redeem some of the Taxes? Whereby feveral Employments must fall. Mind of the Plant, call'd the Ill- C and the Perquifites of others be lessened.

It is a melancholy Truth, that, as a Country grows poor, Employments make Men more confiderable in their Country; they are thereby fet higher above their Neighbours, nue of a Country is run into one D and the People are more easily subdued and govern'd when poor; which Confideration alone should make this Nation dread a Parliament of Placemen. It will be no Falshood to say, that Trade hath declined, that the Gentry and common People have Tho' we are at more than a Year's E paid heavy Taxes, that the Merchants have fuffer'd by Depredations, that all People have felt the Weight of the Times, except Placemen.-Will a Parliament of Placemen mend the Matter? I will tell how far it will mend it: When any in this Kingdom: The Son of a F Calamity falls upon the Country, and every Man is lamenting his Loss, the Nation will have the Mortification to fee the Authors of the Mischief the only Persons in Plenty and Joy.

Parliaments are to punish all the that can enter into any Part of Government, otherwise they are of no Use to the People; so that a Parlia-

ment of Placemen is a Contradiction to common Sense; it is, without any Thing else, a Change in the Constitution, and turns the Government into a Commonwealth; nay, the worst Kind of Commonwealth, a scandalous Democracy of the lowest A and the most worthless of the People. Chuse a Parliament of Placemen, and you become the Slaves of your own Servants: The Places will then make all the Laws of the Counary; nay, they will make the very Religion of the Country: They will B But when afterwards, both Sides not only make the Laws, but they will execute the Laws. The Places will impose all Taxes, and the Places will apply the Money. In a Word, the Fortunes of all the People of England will lie at the Mercy Placemen.

Of all Kinds of Government, the most unnatural as well as grievous, is that which Writers upon Government call Imperium in Imperio; and such must a Parliament of Placemen produce. On one Side, it must render the People weak and D the History of that wife People, without Weight; on the other, make the Crown appear a Cypher, a mere Pageant for Shew, a Thing without Power or Authority.

Cicero tells us, that wife Men are instructed by Reason; Men of less Understanding, by Experience; the E resting Occasions. most Ignorant, by Necessity, and Beafts by Nature.

To apply which to the Subject before us, we may fay, that Reafon, Experiences, Necessity, and Nature's first Law, which is Self-Defence, oblige the People of this Na- F the present Subject as follows. "Is tion to take some legal Measures to prevent a Parliament of Placemen. Montage ont sol of the Mischief the univ Persons an Pleasy

From the Gazetteer, Nov. 19.

Desistite Tumultuari, Consultandum est. G HE fage Advice, in my Motto, given by Flaminius to the

Abolians, could not have been more

necessary to that disunited People, than to Britons at this Time, amongst whom, I am forry to fay it, Faction has found Means to scatter with too great Profusion the baleful Seeds of Discord and Dissension.

The Romans, tho' their Commonwealth was frequently agitated by domestick Broils, yet preserved themfelves for a long Time, partly by the Gravity and Wisdom of the Patricians, and partly by the Moderation and Temper of the Commons: went into Extremes, and gave a Loofe to Violence and Enmity, the State soon became a Sacrifice to their mutual Animofities.

Thus it will and must necessarily happen in all States, where all Par-C ties don't give their mutual Aid towards rooting up that national Evil, Faction, which breaks in upon that general Confidence and Concord that should cement a People in order to bear down the common Enemy.

There are frequent Instances in that when they had a foreign War upon their Hands, they postponed to a more tranquil Interval, all publick Inquiries and Accufations; nay, even Punishments of the highest Nature were postponed on these inte-

A grave Author and a good Patriot, speaking of the unhappy Feuds that were but too conspicuous 2mongst his Countrymen at the Time that we enter'd into the last War against France, expresses himself on like Manner, perhaps, it would be happy for this Nation, if the Difputes that are among us, should be for a While postpon'd. A Claim of Right is very far from being lost or yielded up, because it is for the present suspended. Whoever looks over our Hittories, will find that the People have held to this very Day fuch Rights, as they afferted in

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Times of Peace and Quiet; whereas fuch have been wrested from them afterwards, which they claim'd and obtain'd at other Seasons. And indeed one Part of the State will have a remaining Pretention to what the at a Juncture, when Necessity may be thought to have forced Compliance."

The War we are now engaged in, is by the concurrent Consent of all Parties: Should not then all Parties wave for a While all Claims or Pre- B tensions that might prevent, or even lacken the Profecution of a War, fo generally fought and affented to? Most undoubtedly. And yet as eligible as fo prudent a Precedure would feem, there are, I am forry to fay that feem inclin'd to swerve from this fo falutary a Maxim.

I shall conclude, as I begun, with the wife Roman's salutary Advice to the Ætolians: Lay afide Tumult and Animosity, where Consultation is need-HALES. D

HE Gazetteer of the 20th is upon the last Craftsman and Common Sense. To follow the Complaint (fays he) of the undue Influence of the Counsels of one fingle think themselves full as wife, would be paying this miserable Scribbler more Notice then he merits at preient: But I would, on this Occasion, be so far Mr. D'Anvers's Friend as to remind him, that ancient History and modern Experience have fur- F nish'd Examples, which give Room for paying the greatest Regard to the Counsels of a fingle Person: France railed herfelf to the Splendor with which she has lately shone, by a happy Succession of able, and (at least to her Interests) faithful Ministers: G The Completion of the late ambitious Views of Spain has generally been attributed to the Counfels of

one Head; and the glorious Figure England made against the Attempts of Spain under Q. Elizabeth, was evidently owing to the fleady Counfels of one Minister; -and by an unfortunate Change, and the hafty Reother Part seems to have extorted, A moval of a great and generous Minifter, the latter Part of the Reign of her late Majesty Q. Anne was overcast by such a Cloud, as almost screens the many glorious Events with which the former Part of her Reign was diffinguished.

Then as to Common Sense: From Premises of his own, (Jays be) he deduces a Consequence he fancies will frighten his Readers; but it must be the Unwary only he can scare, by saying, that if such and fuch Things should ever happen, the it, some restless Men amongst us, C Fortunes of all the People of England will lie at the Mercy of Placemen; -- fuch a Supposition being wholy unnecessary, there never being a happy Nation in the Universe where it was otherwise: For all who are, according to the Constitution of a Country, entrusted with the Government of the People, are certainly Placemen; and longer than fuch Placemen have the Authority belonging to their respective Posts, the Government cannot be continued, nor the People preserved in the quiet Possession of Person, while so many other People E their Fortunes. Nay, it is absolutely impossible for a Man out of Place, let his Intentions be ever fo generous, to serve a People so much; and with such Safety and Effect, as

Common Sense, Nov. 24, Nº 147.

if he were in Place.

Whether this is a proper Time for defiring a PLACE-BILL.

UR Placemen, who (as we observ'd in our last, see p. 608.) have taken off the Mask, and are become the bare-faced Advocates of Slavery, think fit to declare, that the publick Affairs are in a most distracted Condition; and

therefore it is their modest Opinion, that it is very unreasonable in the People at present, to defire a Place-Bill: They ask, is this a proper Time to demand a thing of that Nature?

read that it is scarce worth while to take Notice of them, yet, as we know very well who dictated this Question, we shall give it an Anfwer; and our Answer is, that no

Time can be improper.

than Security, whether they are to continue a free People or not, they are to make the Demand when it is most likely to be obtain'd. It cannot be strange, therefore, that it is ask'd for now; tho' it may be a Wonder, that it hath not been ob- C tain'd before.

The Romans laid hold of fuch Opportunities to obtain Securities against the Tyranny of the Patricians, when their Assistance was most wanted for the Defence of the Commonwealth: They were wife enough D to know, that a Victory Abroad would do them no Service, if they were to be oppress'd at Home; nay, it might increase the Power of those who were aiming at being Tyrants; therefore they infifted upon Securities, before they would contribute E into the Roman Territories at the to a War.

If the Nation is under Difficulties, every Man knows who brought it into those Difficulties; and the People know that, let who will occafion them, their Purfes must pay for extracting the Nation out of F If the People apprehend them. Danger, from the Use which a Minister may make of an Army of Placemen, must these very Placemen ask, if this be a proper Time! -Yes! tho' Hannibal were at the Gates, it is a proper Time; for one G fent Danger from the Samuites, the Catiline in the City may do more Mischief than ten Hannibals in the Field.

I would fain know, what it is that hath made this an improper Time ? Does any Body believe that our Seamen will not fight, unless there should be 2 or 300 Placemen in the next House of Commons? Tho' their Writings are fo little A Will a Place-Bill raise a Mist upon the Sea, by Favour of which the Galloons will escape under the Stern of one of our Admirals? Will a Place-Bill encrease the Practice of Bribery in Elections? Or will it not, above any other Expedient, contri-If they think the Point is no less B bute to check a Species of Corruption, which threatens the very Fundamentals of our Constitution?

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Let me ask a Question in my Turn. Is this a Time to refule fuch a Demand? Will those that refuse; or so much as dispute a Security so reasonable, at a Time the Affiftance of the People is most wanted, freely grant it when their Hands shall be desingaged, and they shall be at full Leifure to employ their whole Strength to do what they please at Home? No! I fancy no Man is so weak to be put off with a Question that is so easily answer'd.

I mention'd how the Romans behaved in the like Circumstances; I will now prove it by an Example.

The Samnites made an Incursion Time the People were under the greatest Uneafiness, occasioned by the Abuse of Power exercised by the Decemvirs. This Storm from Abroad was an unlucky Stroke upon them, just at the Time that they thought of nothing but establishing their own tyrannical Power at Home, The People were wife enough to make a proper Use of it, for, when the Decemvirs were for diverting them from the Confideration of past Measures, by magnifying the pre-Answer was, that they would contribute nothing to the War, till the Decemvirate had divested themselves

of their Offices, and stood a fair Trial. One 2. Horatius Barbatus faid, in a Speech to the People, "We are call'd upon to arm against the Samnites, at a Time that we have much more dangerous Enemies to engage in Rome; what we must suf- A he named himself. fer from these is much worse, than any Thing we have to fear from the Samnites: Shall we that would not endure the Pride of one Man, but banish'd a lawful King and his whole Family, now fuffer so many Tarquins in Rome? "

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This Decemvirate was a certain Number of worthless Fellows that, having tasted the Sweets of living upon the publick Revenue, were resolv'd to keep that Power which enabled them to do fo. They were This Chief was named Appius Claudius, a bold, bufy Man, who, under Hypocrify, conceal'd a great many other Vices: This Appius, with the test, being elected for a Year to collect Laws for the Government of the they exposed their Laws on ten Tables to be fairly examin'd, which were approv'd of by the People. When their Year was near expired, Appius gave out, that there still wanted two Tables more, to make that it would be necessary to continue the fame Kinds of Magistracy another Year, to fill up these two Tables; which the People being inclined to do, he shew'd such a furious Defire of being again elected, that there was no Kind of Artifice F left untried for that Purpose; but, as it was not customary for a Man to possess the same Magistracy two Years together, to reward Appius for the Pains he had taken, the People gave him a Power of naming the Decembrate for the second Year, G not thinking he would name himfelf.

Appins made Choice of Men of the meanest Understandings, and

the worst Characters; but he knew their Vices would fit them for his Defigns, and their Want of Parts secure him from their being his Rivals in Power; and last of all, as if he had loft all Sense of Shame,

Here was a hopeful Crew of Placemen, who, as they ow'd their Preferment to Appius, were to obey him and fland by him at all Events: He now took off the Mask, and was refolv'd, by the Help of these Tools, B to keep his Power whether the People would or not. Such was the Condition of Rome when the Sam-

nites fell upon them.

If I could suspect our present Placemen of fo much Learning as to have read Livy, or Hooke's Roman a Gang of Placemen under a Chief: C History, I should have sworn they had borrow'd all their prefent Arguments from Appins Claudius, and his Mercenaries; for, when they found that the People would give no Affistance to the War till they had fecured themselves at Home, People, behaved very well at first; D Appius made a great Clamour, that they were legally chosen, and were not accountable to the Mob; that those who censured their Conduct were a Parcel of seditious Male-contents, in the Interest of the Samnites; that they wanted to be in a compleat Body of Laws; and E Power themselves, or to bring all Things into Confusion; that if they meant the publick Good, they would let all Disputes alone till the Republick had Peace with the Samniter, &c. But the Romans had too much good Sense to give up the Defence of their Liberties to Noise and Clamour; - they began the War in the right Place, demolish'd the Decemvirate first, and then beat the Same

Let it be confider'd, whether we have not a much greater Number of Placemen, than Rome had, not only at the Time of Appius, but even when its Territories were 20 Times as large as ours. Let them confider pext Arguments Q Acver to next, that if any one Man should have the Power of chusing and naming to all Employments, whether he might not easily bring about here, what Appius lost his Life for attempting in Rome :- The People

fequence of such an Event.

As long as Liberty fublifts, the Parliament will check the Ministry, and the People be a Check upon the Parliament: Therefore it is a Happiness, that the Placemen have declared themselves at a Time there B his Way; for, indeed, all the Notice is a Parliament under no Influence. If ever the Representatives of the People should appear to be no more than the Guard du Corps of a Minister, and, at the same Time, set up for Tyrants against those by whose Authority they act, it would be Cons. I don't mean a bit bonefler Nonfense to say, that the Nation is govern'd by its own Confent.

To prevent so scandalous a Degree of Servitude hereafter, or even the Fear of falling into it, the People defire a legal Security :- They think, that the Preservation of that D vinc'd that the Good of the Publick Constitution which, within a little more than 40 Years, hath cost them above 200 Millions Sterling, depends upon it.-No Advantage over an Enemy, no not the conquering all the Dominions of Spain, can stand in Competition with fuch a Point.

If therefore the People cannot obtain a Security so essential to their Liberties, those that oppose it are answerable for all the Consequences.

Craftiman, Nov. 24. Nº 693 Practices of the Ministerial Writers.

HE Ministerial Drudges are fo dull, when they pretend to be witty, and to triffing when they endeavour to reason, so superficial when they attempt to be learned, and always to affurning and abandon'd, that their own Productions, G the Fact, and declare it to be a whether in Writing or Discourse, are full Testimonies of their Folly, Ignorance, and profligate Principles, But let their Arguments be ever fo

wicked, weak, or inconclusive, they are constantly back'd by the Faction, and loudly applauded by Excise-Officers, Pensioners, Courtiers, and Placemen. I would not therefore have the Scribbling Tribe, or the low Scouts of defire some Security against the Con- A the Party, exult upon the Honour I may do them, in observing upon their Behaviour; as a filly, impudent Fellow once bragg'd, for being taken Notice of by Charles II. who favour'd him with a Cut cross the Shoulders, and bid him stand out of I defign to take of them, is to give them a Kick out of my Way, that I may the more easily come at their Betters. By the Word Betters, I would have it here understood, Per-Sons of better Estates and bigher Stati-Men. These Hierlings think themfelves as much concern'd in the Cause of Truth and Honesly, as their Patron is in the Interest of the Nation. He first set out on another Principle, and never can be conand his own private Welfare are compatible; and tho' at last lugg'd in to do what every Body thinks ought to have been done many Years ago, he will probably go thro' it with much as good a Grace as an E Ape eats Mustard. In the same Manner, his fcribbling Advocates thift from Falshood to Falshood. For these many Years past, they have been forswearing Corruption, and calling every Body, who imputed it to their Faction, scandalous Li-F bellers, false Patriots, and Disturbers of the publick Quiet; till fome certain Evidences have lately appear'd, and put the Matter quiet out of Dispute; and now, when it can be no more deny'd than that Guineas are Gold, these worthy Gentlemen openly justify aubolesome Measure, for which they quote Precedents to fanctify the Usage of it, At the same Time, bes madiandiabati focasathey

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they exult very much upon the present Number of publick-spirited Gentlemen, who, to preserve their Country from being ruin'd by the obitinate Temper of the Opposition, will virtuoufly condescend to receive put some Affairs in so forcible a Light, that they thought it better to avow than deny their Guilt .- If Corruption cannot be supported, their Pay-Master is ruin'd, and conse-

quently themselves.

These Tools of the Faction, whose Works are dispers'd throughout the Kingdom, at the publick Expence, ought to know more of ministerial Affairs, and the secret Springs of Action, than I pretend to do.-Let every Man therefore confider, how C well the Bufiness of the Nation hath been conducted for fome Years past; let it be confider'd how confistent we have been abroad in the Multiplicity of our Treaties, and how iteady to our natural Allies; how this long Time of Peace, and how considerably the Debts of the Nation have been reduc'd; how watchful we have been over our ambitious Neighbours, and how jealous of the least Disgrace, offer'd to the Credit and Glory of the Kingdom; how E much the Trade and Commerce of the Nation have been extended, and how strenuously protected.

The general Answer of the Faction to all this, is founded on the Opposition, and the Peace of Utrecht .-Then they fall to reviling those im- F practicable Men, who refuse to be brib'd; that they are covetous, because they have behaved so as to lose their Employments; ambitious, for they defire to lessen the Number of Placemen in a certain Assembly; Enemies to our Constitution, having at- G tempted to secure the future Independency of Parliaments; and Enemies to Trade, because they endeavour'd to throw out the Convention with Ig-

nominy-They are either open or feeret Jacobites, for they have constantly been against a large standing Army, in Time of Peace; and notorious Republicans, fince they affirm that the three Estates of Parliament ought to the laudable Wages of Corruption. A be independent, and that the elected The late Lists and Secression have Members ought to be accountable to their Constituents. They are also ungrateful; for they will not be brib'd by an old Acquaintance to hold their Tongues, whenever they apprehend their Country in Danger. And, laftly, B they are very malicious, for when they find they cannot get into Places themselves, they are for abridging the Salaries and Perquisites of them in fuch a Manner, that they would he scarce worth the keeping of those definterested Place - Patriots, who for well know the present Value of them.

I must here observe, that it is but a melancholy Reflection, to think how much is paid for receiving and disbursing the publick Money; and that in most of the Places in the Exchequer, and in several other Offices, frugal we have been at home during D the Profits of the Place multiply in Proportion to the Diffresses of the People, the Perquifites arising from the Increase of Taxes and Difburfements. I am inform'd there is a certain fine-cure Place, which if dropt, and the present Income funded out, would, at 4 per Cent. raise 170,000 l. and, in Time of War, by the increasing Perquisites, would produce a finking Fund for itself.—I should be glad to know whether a Place, now officiated by a Deputy, would not be of more Service to the Nation, if the Deputy was made principal Officer, and the Salary, or Profits of the present Premier, converted to the Use of the Publick.

The next great Source whence all our present Missortunes flow, according to these Scribblers, is the Treaty of Utrecht .- If the Convention was not better, to what can it be afcrib'd but to the Treaty of Utrecht? I prefume however that 40 2 Vanishing the the Treaty of Utrecht will be difcharg'd from any Imputation of making the Treaty with the Emperor in 1716, the Quadruple Alliance in 1718, or any other Act in Favour of the House of Austria. But the Treaty of Utrecht having A the Treaty of Utrecht: Tho' the rested for about a Dozen Years, it redoubled its Influence, and vifibly began to operate in 1725, in Favour of the House of Bourbon. To it was owing the last Siege of Gibrakar, and suffering the Spaniards to erect Works close to it; for, not B Anno Domini 1713. having fecur'd a fufficient Territory by that Peace, we had no Right to interrupt them in carrying on their Trenches and Fortifications. But was it owing to the Treaty of Utrecht, that when the glorious Treaty of Seville was made, we oblig'd our- C felves to effectuate the Introduction of Don Carlos and his Forces, with an English Fleet, and at our own Expence? If so, the King of the two Sicilies is oblig'd to the Treaty of Utrecht for those Crowns; tho' Naples was given to the Emperor by that D was a charging Horse of one of the Treaty, and he gain'd Sicily by the Assistance of the English, long since the Treaty of Utrecht, and might have kept them still, as well as Lorain, if the Treaty of Utrecht had not oblig'd us to make the Treaties of Hanover and Seville; and tho' E we had guarantyld the two Sicilies to the Emperor, yet the Treaty of Utrecht oblig'd us to stand neuter, when he was attack'd and drove out of them.—But when we were doing such eminent Service for Spain, in Confequence of the Treaty F Overthrow gave the Enemies of Chrisof Seville; did the Treaty of Utrecht restrain us from infilting on a proper Territory round Gibraltar, or better Security for our Trade? - To the Treaty of Utrecht was owing the Bank-Contract, and the Loss of the Hawkers and Pedlars Office. The G Treaty of Utrecht hath made it nepeffary not to diminish the Debt of the Nation, or to reduce our Taxes. It made it necessary to enlarge the

Civil-Lift, to revive the Salt-Duty, and now and then to make a little free with the finking Fund .- But let us not give the Glory of our Spithead Expedition, our Baltick, our Mediterranean, or our West-India Fleets, to Death of Admiral Hofier, our ill Succeis at the Baftimentos, at that Time, our missing the Affogue Ships this Seafon, and our not declaring War till Summer, was undoubtedly owing to that fatal Peace concluded at Utrecht,

The

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This political Retrospection into the Treaty of Utrecht puts me in Mind of a Story, with which I shall conclude this Paper. It is of an Hobnail; which, as an old Woman was cleaning her House, she (wept with the Dust into her Shovel) fo away went the Duft and the Hobnail both into the Street together. A Groom came presently riding by, who was going to air his Horfes, one of which happen'd to strike this Nail into his Foot; and this Horse Generals in the Christian Camp against the Turks. The next Day was fought a decifive Battle between the Infidels and the Christians; when all Things went on very well in Favour of the latter, till this Horse fell lame. The General, having no other Harfe left, could not do his Duty, and ride from Squadron to Squadron, in order to animate his Men. In short, the Mabometans made the first Impression upon his Quarter, which was follow'd by a general Rout. This tianity Time and Opportunity to befiege and take feveral Places, and at last Constantinople itself; to which was owing the Lofs of Turkey in Enrope. To this Hobnail is likewise imputed the ill Success of the late fatal Battle of Granzea, and the Lois of Belgrade, which it is supposed Veldt-Marshal Wallis, and Count Neuperg, will plead in their Defence for having made so pecipitate a Peace

The renoruned QUACK DOCTOR's Advice to bis POETASTER in ordinary.

THO' I am no politician, Courtier, fidler or physician, Poet or painter, connoiffeur, Beau, critick, witch, or conjurer; But only have this mean pretence, Which thousands have not, common sense: Tho' I ne'er improv'd this knowledge, By seeing th' infide of a college, Or vainly boafted o'er a bottle, Of Newton, Locke, or Aristotle; Tho' I cou'd ne'er presume to quote Old feraps of verses learnt by rote; Tho' I ne'er strutted in a bar-gown, Or thunder'd out a deal of jargon, Or baw.'d on trifles in a fury, My lord, and gentlemen o'th' jury; Or look'd in court prodigious wife, With folemn phyz and rueful eyes; Or ftrok'd my beard, or tols'd my wig, And all to look a little big; Or loudly pleaded at th' affizes, And kis'd th' attornies wives for prizes: Tho' I never cry'd out culprit, Or ran against a bar or pulpit; Or spoil'd my eyes by reading books, Such as your Littletons and Cokes: Yet fure I know a title page, As well as most men of my age; Nay further know what text and note is; Thus learned, fungar wice cotis.

Wilt thou, my boy, learn how to rhyme, Whether in or out of time? Chuse a theme, no matter what, All is good that comes to pot. Never fear, but boldly enter, Hit or miss, 'tis all a venture. Dress it up, be sure, like mine, Then 'twill grace the Magazine. Neatly patch up what feems beft, Mind the rhymes, neglect the reft. Taftes in cook'ry often vary, In verfifying why not, quere. Many men, as many minds; This likes blank, another rhymes. For fuch diversity of noses, Get then variety of roles. Slily " fleal from this or that, Any thing, be it but pat; Whether verse, or whether prose, If 'tis good, I'll swear 'tis yours: Never mind the confequence, We've enough, if we've the pence. Nay, for any thing I'm willing, If it comes to price one shilling. Better 'tis for us, no doubt, To play at imall game, than fland out, Borrow then from Swift or Pape, This a figure, that a trope. Filch from philosophick ftrings, Grubstreet songs, or some such things.

Whate'er you finger, as of old Midas did, convert to gold. An ounce of wit from Oxford jokes, As fit for you as other folks: The' not for poetick norma, Yet 'twill ferve at least pro forma, Take it, whether right or no, If it fills, 'tis apropos.

If my readers fay they find Nothing elfe but ftuff, they're blind. Qualities occult we fee In nature, as in poetry; As a man may be a poet, Tho' he ha'n't the face to flow it. Value not the critick-crew, They always fnarl at what is new. Hang 'em for a pack of fools, I hate their persons, scorn their rules, Rules for pedants, not for us, D-mn 'em, they a'n't worth a curse. Let 'em dictate, and go sh-te; As freely as we live, we'll write. Let 'em fay 'tis profe run mad, Theirs is worfe, at least as bad. Call it in their wisdom follies, "Tis as good as Duck's or Colley's. Nay 'twill pass off alamode For a fong or new year's ode. When hungry, any thing will do They're as bad as I or you.
For whate'er these fools pretend, add server Spoil they may, but cannot mend. Boggle not to firetch a point, Take hence a limb, and thence a joint. Double entendres not a few, Smut a pound—it gives a gout. 'Tis approv'd throughout the nation The life and foul of conversation, The very quinteffence of wit I'th' boxes, galleries and pit, Balls, astemblies, masquerades, Evening tea, and night parades. 'Tis the coxcomb's grand pretence, Nay his only one, to fenfe, Hence he smiles and looks alert, The prude demure, the coquet pert. Then to make the whole complete, W SELZ V Fustain add a pennyweight, Bombast a dram-of puns a store, Nonfense a thousand weight or more; Sense a scruple, that's enough: Then for immuendo's, ftuff Detraction, flander-quantum fuff. Let your composition be An univerfal rhapfody. After all, if fancy fails, Call thy mule, or bite thy naile. At a non-plus, never fray, Put here an ele, and there an ey: Thefe with art will ferve thy cause, Just as lawyers bums and ba's.

Take for endings Byfbe's reference, As some distinctions where's no difference. If it happens there's a place Which can't be fill'd up, leave a fpace : Tho' nothing's in't, 'twill cut a fissh, And pass for fatyr with a . As some things may be constru'd treason, Tho' there's neither rhime nor reason. If you can't make, yet you can buy Like others, ready cut and dry, Crambo's, all forts, without fail, Either at wholefale or ratail. But if all shou'd not do yet, Spare thy nails as well as pate. We'll with part or whole difpenfe, Rhime will do as well as fenfe, Let it then be finely clear, Gently fealing on the ear; Let the rhimes flow sweetly easy, Jingling rhimes will always please ye. Rhime's the prettiest thing alive, You can't a better thing contrive. If sense won t hit, don't b'in a passion, 'Tis good for nought, 'tis out o'fashion. Fluent nonsense pleases best, Sooths the ear, and luls to reft. Still if that and noise combine, Happy fir, 'tis true fublime; The vehicle of nonfense sound, Proves the speaker is profound. This the learned in the laws, Grant good pleading in a cause; This with some for wildom passes, As thiftles do for corn with affes. Hence the squeaking eunuch's art Steals the passions, purse and heart: This our brethren of the pill, Find is pence and wit at will; And our m-th-d-fts will tell ye, Is a recip. for the belly : Let the people take their fill, Vox they'll catch, prateres nil. Yours then, never fear, will pass,

Yours then, never fear, will pass,
'Twill ease, if not the mind, the aHowever dull, it may perhap
Cause, if not a stool, a nap.
Whilst your readers, pleas'd and spent,
Gently droop, and nod assent.
Hence it, is, that mine does sell,
Pr'ythee why mayn't yours as well.
St. John's Gate,

Sept. 20, 1739.

To Miss H -- on her Poem on Corby, not yet publish'd.

B LESS me! when first Ituna's streams
I crost,
Not more I was in admiration lost!
Smooth gl des the glassy surface in the song,
And swift the whirling eddy darts along.
Still rustling branches seel the balmy breeze,
Still the gay concert warbles on the trees.

Here finks the grot, there antick structures rife, And real Corby meets my wondering eyes.

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Thus raptur'd while imagination flrays, And all the wild romantick scene surveys, Tow'rds a fair dome(the temple fure of love) Methinks I fee a beauteous creature move How croud the graces round her as she goes! On Ida's top thus Cytherea glows. Such majefty yet in that foftness dwells, As far, ought told by ancient tale, excels, Hark, now her fingers gently touch the ftrings, Hark, echo to the heav aly mufick fings. Good gods! whence can these excellencies flow. Those gifts on clay cou'd nature e'er beslow? Yes, yes, 'tis fhe, O ecftafy! I find, So form'd, so fashioned to command mankind, She, whose sweet numbers charm the lift ning bours,

Reclin'd at ease in Corby's happy bow'rs!

Oh! you, whom fame shall to those shades convey,

Bewate foon firens steal the heart away.

Sure nigh, 'twere vain the magick to controul,

When distance springs such transports in the foul.

SYLVIUS.

To a certain Gentleman upon bis SATIRES. Ey
Mr. Brenan.

BY me, his fervant, Phæbus doth impart These lines, O Persius, to commend your art:

And by preventing Ency fave your fame
From the rude claws of that injurious dame.

Thus fays the god,—ye Britans! hark and know,

How much your joys to my indulgence owe.

This day do I a noble wit create,

Bright as my rays, and friendly as their heat,

Whose genius shall support your finking

Fair liberty (the greatest bliss of men)

Shall owe her rise to his victorious pen.

Wit shall he rev'rence, nor shall virtue less
His pow'r to help her, than his love, consels.

Keen as my arrows shall his satires pierce,
And those who fear not death, shall dread his

verse.

Time shall the works of other bards devour, But o'er his honour'd spritings have no pow'r; Taught by respect the happy page to spare, In which my spirit holds so great a share. All, but the tastless, shall his wit approve, The old respect it, and the youthful love; And none to damn his merits shall conspire, But such, whose censures will exalt them

higher.

Rife! rife! ye owls, who hoot at facred lays,

And with your friendly spite, augment his

praife;

Call that his malice, which is but your shame; 'Tis all that's wanting to compleat his same.

APOLLO. HEALTS HEALTH and CONTENT. A SOLILOQUY.

Continued from p. 461.

THUS 'tis we find the prefent evil world (O dire effect of man's first disobedience!)
Full of disasters, fickness, discontent,
Of vanity and vice—of fin and forrow.

Yet, let us not audaciously repine
At this our fate; fince we full well do know,
That all the woful ills, we fadly share,
Fall infinitely short of our defert.
Besides, (as hourly instances remind us,)
These light affictions are but for a moment:
The present sinful, vain, vexatious life,
With all its various ills of ev'ry kind,
Shall quickly have an end—

Soon shall th' unclogg'd, unfetter'd foul escape From her contagious, cumbersome confine-

ment,—
(This poor, infectious, perishable prison!
This tott'ring fabric of frail shesh and blood!)—
And sweetly wing her swift, unwearied slight
To you rejoicing realms,—you glorious mansions
Of perfect pleasure, and unbounded bliss!
Soon shall this mortal put on immortality:
This morbid mass,—these gross and earthly bo-

dies,

(Which, now, in grievous fort, press down the With their great multiplicity of organs,—

Of muscles, tendons, art'ries, veins, and nerves, Shall be advanc'd, e'er long, to vast perfection;—

And, (if in them we glorify our God,)

Bear the bright image of the second Adam.

E'er long, the Almighty Lord from Heav'n, himself,

These vile, corrupting carcasses shall change Into the likeness of his glorious hody. Sad, forrowing sight shall then for ever vanish, And, from our eyes, all tears he wip'd away: The ransom'd of the Lord shall come with songs, And everlasting ion upon their heads.

And everlafting joy upon their heads.

Why art thou then so heavy, O my soul?

Why art thou so disquieted within me?

O put thy trust in God, and give him thanks,

Who has such joys prepar'd for them, that love

All things shall work together for their good:
Their gracious God shall sanctify their sickness,
And all the seeming ills, he's pleas'd to send.
Nor are the suff rings of this present life,
Worthy, by any means, to be compar'd
With that exceeding weight of heav'nly glory,
Which shall, in us, hereafter be reveal'd.

What then, if want of health fill prove my portion,

And oft-returning illnesses, e'er long,
To this poor, languid life, shou'd put a period?—
I know full well, that my Redeemer lives,
And, at the latter day, upon the earth,
Shall surely stand:—why am I then dismay A?
After my skin, tho worms destroy this body,
I'et, in my very sless, shall I see God.
And, if this earthly dwelling were dissolved,
Yet we a building have of God, an beuse

What, tho' great losses, and repeated wrongs, From base, injurious, ill-designing men, (During my short abode in this vain world,) Be, for good ends, permitted to befal me? Yet won't I cast away my considence;

Not made with bands, eternal in the bear'ns.

Much less, in impious fort, repine: But rather Take joyfully the spoiling of my goods,
Well knowing, that in beaw'n I hope to have A better, and a more enduring substance;
Where neither rust corrodes, nor moth devours,

And crafty thieves do not break through, nor steal.

What, tho' my barb'rous foes, with causeless spite,

Do all, they can, to blast my reputation; Industriously dispersing, up and down, Their labour'd lies, and politic pretences?— What, tho' they strive, in most ungrateful

Me to bereave, of goods, and credit too, [tune? Still making free, both with my fame and for-(For those, that do the wrong, are sure to rail. Strange! that a man shou'd, in such senseless fort,

Propose to compensate for former crimes
With further faults, and adding sin to sin!)
Yet, notwithstanding this, I will not fear
Th' unjust repreach of disingenuous men,
Nor be at all afraid of their revilings;
And, tho' revil'd, I'll not revile again,
Nor, when I suffer, use unchristian threats;
But,—after my Redeemer's blest example,—
Commit myself to him that judges righteously.

And, O! thou once afflicted, fuff'ring Saviour, [tempted,

Who well know'ft bow to succour man, when Enable me, with thy most bounteous grace, Still to persist in pious resolutions,

To put in practice every good design,

And both to smill and do of the good pleasure.

And, both to will, and do, of thy good pleasure.

Whatever ills moleft this mortal body,
In patience may I still possess my foul;
And be thy gracious help sufficient for me.
Or,—if I fall into the bands of men, [mur.
Let me not once presume, dear Lord, to murAh! wherefore shou'd a living man complain,
For the slight punishment of grievous sins?

'Tis thy long-suff ring, Lord, that lets me live,
And of thy mercies, that we're not consum'd.
Shall so much goodness therefore be neglected?
Can such forbearance suffer me to tempt
The Lord my God?——(destructive, desp'rate

As the thou had fi forgotten to be gracious.

O! may I take due care, there he not, in me,
An evil, abject heart of unbelief.

May I, with chearfulness, lay hold on hope,
(That anchor of the foul both fure and stedfass,),
In all the storms of this tempessuous world.

If the Sentiments of a North Britain, rough as his Climate, and uncultivated as his Country, are not too harsh for the lost Ears of

your Opera Gentlemen, I wish you would infert the following Ode, in your Magazine; and you will oblige fome who prefer the martial Sound of a Trumpet, before the fweet Lullabies of a fqueaking Eunuch, and among Your Humble Serviant,

FREEMAN.

A MARTIAL ODE.

Angustam, amici, pauperiem pati Robustus acri militia puer Condifcat,

100 long the fopperies of France O Britain, thy brave fons invade, Shake off; at length, the shameful trance, And leave the base inglorious shade. How art thou fall'n, thou terror of thy foes! Whose nod made tyrants just, and gave the world repole.

Rouse thee to action; let the beau Change for the helm his fmart toupee, With florms and cold familiar grow, And brave the hoarfe tempestuous sea: For balls and operas, let him learn to bear The gripes of want, and rough fatigues of war.

Instead of snuff-box, take the spear; And for a tender virgin's heart, A nobler conquest let him share, And bravely form a Spanish fort: Thro' flaughter'd heaps his bloody paffage force, And where the battle kindles urge his dangerous courfe.

No more the ladies shall admire The fop, who now enjoys their smiles; But praise the hero's martial fire, And with their love reward his toils: Bless that brave man, to whom the Spaniards yeild,

Triumphant, in the chamber, and the field. What coward would not die with joy, Whene'er his country claims his breath?

The trembling maid, the beardless boy, Are fnatch'd by unrelenting death: In vain from war's alarms the fearful flies, Swift fate pursues, and by base wounds he dies.

Britain ne'er doubted which to chuse, A glorious death, or shameful life; To stoop to her infulting foes

Or perish in the noble strife; Secure, however fortune smile, or frown, Unfullied honours shall her labours crown.

Great in herfelf, she scorns to rife, By fhameful stratagems; and hates The vile deceitful policies

Which aggrandize the neighbouring states; She smiles at all the vain defigns they form, And knows her thunder can disperse the storm.

Of France's schemes no dread she knows, Their cunning is not worth our care; Let them declare themselves our foes, And be (if possible) fincere.

Their frowns we laugh at, and despise th' ally Who wears the mask of friendship to destroy. The thefts and infolence of Spain, Too long the British lion bore, Dreadful he shakes his shaggy main, And nations tremble at his roar. Tho' villains profper, and revenge is flow, Justice pursues, and will strike home the blow.

A Dialogue between R-LI H-ME, and -R G--- LL, in A--- n M-Cumberland.

> Invidus alterius rebus macrescit opimis. Hor .

R. H. FRiend, guess 1 right that fullen mien Betrays a bosom full of spleen: Gods! must poor mortals flill be croft! Is debtor gone, and money loft?

C. G. No, Plutus, thanks, my gold is here, Plutus, whom I alone revere; From something else these pangs I feel-Who can behold his neighbour's weal?

R. H. In christians dwells there fuch a thought!

To what a pitch are mankind brought? Must envy over reason sway, And siches banish truth away?

C. G. Be gone!—thy preaching I deteft; Thou-thou'rt the raven in my breaft; Tis thou that dost my will controul, And damn the secrets of my foul: What the' from thy ancestors came My lands? I now difown the name: What tho' thy aid has oft reliev'd? Yet, what are favours, when receiv'd? Forgot, I give them to the wind, And break all bonds that friendship bind; If weighty bags can ruin bring, For this with joy I'll burst the string. [voin!

R. H. Vain are thy threats! thy thunder The fates have fasten'd there thy chain; There may it thou feed upon despair, That lonely corner's all thy share ; There mayft thou blow the pois'nous breath Of malice, diffeord, hate, and death ; All one to me, I fland fecure, Tho' willing, feeble is thy pow'r: Wrapt in my virtue, bles'd as kings; Farewel-remember wealth has wings. STLVIUS.

-, written on the An Epifle to Mr. S-- G-Day of the Declaration of WAR. By an bonest Tar, present at the taking of the Ship St. Joseph.

O thee, my countryman, and country's friend, I write; awhile thy fludious thoughts suspend: Forget thy cares, and upwards raise thy fight, To meet this joyful morn, this beam of light; To recollect, in solitude and case, The various incidents, which form to pleafe.

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At one Thro' Taro's From nether regions lift thy awful head, And leave, for living monuments, the dead. For what we us'd to read, confest we view, A'l th' antient world transcribed in the new.

Of Grecian chiefs, glowing with generous rage

At Trojan infults, read in Homer's page. Of Britans nobly fighting for their laws; "A As often bleeding in their country's cause; Scourging proud tyrants, vanquishing their foes, Subduing rebels, and preventing woes; In English annals view. But turn, admire! Our present heroes emulate their fire. With equal vigour, and superior might, [fight; Behold! they arm, they fally forth, they Sailing in triumph on the feas, confess Our trade they vindicate, our wrongs redrefs.

Tis true, in Cromwell's, and Eliza's reign, None cou'd of foreign injuries complain None dusst attempt her mouth and none his ears, He bullied Spaniards, as he did his peers. But think not fince in indolence we're dead, Or, as we've loft our * ears, we'll lofe our bead. Think not we live in Charles' inglorious days, When armies were for shews, and fleets for plays: Less skill'dinth' art of fighting, than intrigues, Accustom'd more to pleasures, than fatigues; More us'd to camps of Venus, than of Mars, Nor quite so fit for battle, as for farce: When beaus were fent out merely for a dance, To be the fools of Spain and sport of France. Soon to their forrow and their coft they'll know The British fquadron's not a raree-show. [fate;

Proud Spain, from past examples learn thy Submit, and tremble, ere it be too late: From fad experience future measures take, Forget not thy Armada, and our Drake; Remember valiant Blake, remember Byng; What by your fraud we lofe, by fword we win.

England has long the peaceful laurel worn, And infults, captures, depredations born With patience infinite—but now no more; Its injur'd liberties it will restore. Hark! adamantine Mars proclaims th' alarme,

Earth, sea, and skies declare, to arms, to arms! To arms, to arms men, drums and trumpets

found; A war, a war! the bellowing streets rebound. Transported view the gathering crowds arise, With all the Briton fparkling in their eyes. Lo! zeal indignant animates their frame, Lo! th' inbred courage kindles to a flame. Hark! what exulting acclamations rife, [fkies. Mount on the winds, and tremble thro' the The too long flagnant blood now freely flows With martial ardour every bosom glows. Embattled legions open into view, And Marlborough's wars we feem to fight anew. See! the renowned Haddeck's on the main, At once the terror, and the scourge of Spain; Of Spain grown powerful in plunder'd goid, Superbly poor, and imporently bold; Thro' splendid ignorance grown vainly grave, Thro' want of wifeon, learned, courage, brave.

But fee! its little greatness now descends, Since Haddock valiantly our right defends.

Britain shall live when Spain shall be no more: Such as Madrid, was Cartbage heretofore. Its stately towers shall fall, its grandeur cease, And with its humbled power, its pride decrease. But Britain on a rock securely stands, To thunder out to Spain its dread commands. Divisions, tumults, discontents and jars, With all the deadly instruments of wars; Fleets, privateers, armada's, nought avail, Whilst Wagers, Haddocks, Vernons, never fail-Trumpets, guns, mortars, cannons will proclaim A George's counsels, and a Haddock's name. Don Thomas de la St. Joseph.

Verses occasion'd by the Bishop of London's Remarks upon Whit-d's Journals. (fee p. 391.)

EASE, plous Gibson! fince in vain You have recall'd the erring train. Back to their former fold, Which swoln with superstitious pride, Common degrees of faith deride, And fatal tenets hold.

High you display'd your past'ral rod, True, faithful to your church and God;

Cou'd mortal force do more? You knock'd the rebels to the ground, But fee how furious they rebound,

Unconquer'd as before. Aleides thus (when drench'd in blood He swept from earth the monster brood) Laid huge Antarus low;

nosa.

Nago

But hear! the fainting Giant cries; Fresh spirits mother Earth supplies,

And fends him on his foe. Th' unequal task at length decline, To fave more thinking fouls be thine From stains of deadly fin;

Hope not with reason to reclaim, Such as her gentle sway contemn, Led by the light within.

Expect, O church ! at least to fee Once each returning century,

Proud bigotry revive; But, oh! may Britain's guardian God

Not truft with brutes his iron rod;

But freedom electron and life. But freedom grant and life.

For what pernicious practice fail'd, Whilft Nol's destructive sword prevail's,

And mow'd whole armies down; When to those impious fons of hell Our king, a helplels victim fell, His sceptre and his throne?

For fee! th' audacious rebels dare Consult their God in seeming pray'r, What methods to purfue;

A few, by knowing more than men, Cheat the deluded, fenfelefs train,

With cous nage never new.

One stale, repeated trick, may scole
(Who spurn right reason's golden rules) To numerous errors lead;

no stuck

Nay, even the fly artificer Was eaught at last in his own snare, So oft for others spread. Sick Cromwell lay; prophetick tribes, (For their own lafety, or for bribes,)

Chear their expiring chief, Fear not, unerring heav'n declares "You fill engross her choicest cares,

The fool believ'd, but conqu'ring death,

Correcting foon his erring falth,

Prov'd his mortality; Bigotted troops raise hideous cries, Kend heav'n with horrid blafphemies,

And give their God the lye. What tumults then, compar'd with these, Can Whit—d, Wef—y, Ing—m, raife,
Tho' equally profound?

Had they the forces of the Turk, They might compleat the heav'nly work, And fpread their tenets round.

A few revolving years will fee (As in the former century,)

This form of doctrine past ; A while thus fierce Volcanos rear A firy deluge in the air,

And lay whole countries wafte. But when the deep the horrid roar Of fubterraneous thunders o'er,

Which loud blasphem'd the skies, New life o'er all, fee nature spread, Each plant erect its drooping bead,

And fresher verdure rife. Say, muse, where shines th' unbials'd mind, Steady, to no extream inclin'd, and the stand toll

Religious, yet not vain; rem minig deer i Whose warm devotions we admire, Pure from enthusiastick fire,

Or wild fanatick ftrain. (412 500) 62 That best of christians, and of men, Who hath improv'd with learned pen

Tully's capacious mind; O! had the moralift been born, Some christian country to adorn,

Or in these ages shin'd! How heav'n our pious wish has crown'd!
Oxford a second Tully found,

Bleft with her foster-son! Had Britain Rome's great genius bore, He had (what cou'd even Tully more?) Another Cockman shone.

ANTIMETHODISTES.

CELADON's Complaint.

The Are. Despairing beside a clear Stream.

Quid immerentes bospites wexas, Canis? disminisher AT Epod.

HOW foolish was I, filly swain!
Unfortunate Celinda cry'd!
To leave the calm joys of the plain,
And traverse the ocean fo wide! form stores enorement of

By tumult opprest all the day, By tempests surrounded at night;

And like the poor hart drove to bay, By brutes that in barking delight,

Confin'd by the ocean and fkies, Such company how shall I shun? How fly the dull fots I despife,

Ah! whither muft Celadon run ? If books and my cabbin's the choice, Yet thither the cry does purfue; No place can fecure from the noile, And roar of the Hottentot crew.

What lately the muses inspir'd, Their envy endeavour'd to blame: And hound-like in couples conspir'd,

To ruin a poor fingle game. But Phebus, who fees all my wrongs, "Kind Pherbus did fend in relief, A nymph who approv'd of my fongs; 'Adieu then to Celadon's grief.

The FABLE of the old LION.

A Lion, who, while vig'rous ftrength remain'd, O'er all the beafts around terrifick reign'd; Where'er his fiercenels urg'd him, raging still > His will his law, and cruelty his will: Broke down at last with the decays of age, His nervous pow'rs all spent, and quench'd his

rage, Himself too weak to make the weakest sear, And life's concluding period drawing near; Th' avengers of his past destructive sway, His barb'rous deeds are haft'ning to repay. Attacks him first with his sharp fangs the boar, And in fierce fury tears and wounds him fore; Next to the boar, the bellowing bull succeeds; Gor'd with his piercing horns, the tyrant bleeds. Then the dull als t'inflict his vengeance flies, And fourns th' expiring monarch, as he lies Eab'ring and groaning under all the pains, In these sad hours of anguish he sustains: His bitt'rest anguish this, that brought thus low,

He bears such infults from so mean a foe.

The MORAL,

ET all in pow'r, how pow'r they ule, reflect, And not oppress their people, but protect; For once that time arriv'd, when pow'r is loft, The lawless tyrant finds it to his cost, That all combine t'express their dire dislike, And not one hand's fo mean out haftes to frike.

The two following are inserted at the particular Defire of one of our Correspondents.

ADVICE to a LADY in AUTUMN, By a noble LORD.

A SSES milk, half a pint, take at feven, or before ; Then fleep for an hour, or two, and no more.

Alming to the Story of the Captain, that had bit Bart tat off by the Squalatta

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At nine firetch your arms, and oh! think, when alone, [my gown: There's no pleasure in bed.—Mary, bring me Slip on that e'er you rise; let your caution be such; [too much. Keep all cold from your breast, there's already Your pinners set right, your twitcher ty'd on, Your prayers at an end, your breakfast quite

Retire to some author improving and gay,
And with sense like your own, set your mind
for the day. [the year,
At twelve you may walk, for at this time o'
The sun, like your wit, is as mild as 'tis clear:
But mark in the meadows, the ruin of time;

Take the hint, and let life be improv'd in its

Return not in haft, nor of dreffing take heed; For beauty like yours, no affifiance can need. With an appetite, thus, down to dinner you fit, [your wit: Where the chief of the feaft, is the flow of Let this be indulg'd, and let laughter go round; As it pleases your mind, to your health 'twill

redound.

After dinner two glasses, at least, I approve;

Name the first to the king, the last to your love:

[gay,
Thus chearful with wisdom, with innocence

And calm with your joys, gently glide through

the day.

The dews of the evening most carefully shun;
They are tears of the sky, for the loss of the sun.

[song,
Then chat, or at play, with a dance, or a Let the night, like the day, pass with pleasure along.

[mind;
All cares but of love, banish far from your And those you may end, when you please to be kind.

To a L A D Y, upon ber reading Sherlock on Death. By the same Author.

MISTAKEN fair, lay Sherlock by,
His doctrine is deceiving;
For while he teaches us to die,
He cheats us of our living.
To die 's a leffon we shall learn,
Too foon without a master:

Then let us fludy only now,
The art to live the fafter.

To live 's to love, to blefs, be blefs'd, With mutual inclination:

Share then the ardor of my breaft, And kindly meet my paffion.

But if thus blefs'd I must not live, And pity you deny;

At least to me your Sherlock give, 'Tis I must learn to die.

FEMALE HEROTOM: Or, the COCKADED COXCOME.

Y E gods! thall willains 'scape the publick from, And L-'s impudence be calmly born? Lives there no man, forfaken wirtue's friend, "To lash his vices, and her cause detend? Shall such a wretch, sprung from a wile embrace, Leud, as his mother, as his sather, base, Born to no bonours, by no merit rais'd, Proud, saucy, wile, for not one wirtue prais'd. Shall such a wretch! the mark of just contempt, "Scape his deserts, and be from scorn exempt? Hear then, ye fair! since men so abject grown, T' admit the slave, nor dare his crimes disown, "Tis yours to banish bim;—despise his rage, And save the bonour of a sinking age.

BATH-WATERS.

N-sb! how wond'rous hard's our fate,
Who wou'd preserve our fame:
Pursuing ease, we seek this place,
But meet a wounded name.
Betbesda's pool an angel blest,
Health plum'd his balmy wings;
Infernal satyrs Bath molest,
And poison all its springs.

On the Declaration of WAR with SPAIN.

What won'd not, peace! the patriot hear for thee?
For he thy value knows; thy friendship he
To human nature; by the better thou,
The richer of delight, sometimes the more
Inevitable war, when rushian force
Awakes the fury of an injur'd state.
Thomson's Britannia.

ONG the all right'ous Ruler of the skies Beheld degenerate man with mercy's eyes, E'er he aveng'd him on the impious foe, Or bad the fountains of the deep to flow : So for a time Britamia's monarch chole Not to disturb the world, but give repose, Saw all the infults, all the pride of Spain, Nor wou'd affert his empire o'er the main ; But rous'd to vengeance now for war declares, Since justice wou'd complain, if still he spares ; Nor longer shall our injur'd merchants mourn, Soon shall the spoiler all his spoils return; Soon Europe fee Britannia's fame reftor'd, Once more the ocean own its ancient lord; Our fleets unrivall'd stear by ev'ry flar, And to each distant coast their thunder bear : Once more around Iberia's frighted thore, The pale inhabitant shall hear it roar : Phillip shall in his palace fear to dwell,
And leave th' Escurial for the hermit's cell.
Yet some, like " Israel's race, too tim'rous are.
They blame their † Moses, and repine at war. Cease your complaints ye coward, murmuring

What fons of Anak have ye to fubdue?

Britons, for shame, your foolish fears give o'er,
Think on the deeds by Britons done befores
When Edward led your brave fore-fathers on;
When Henry fought, and Agisecurt was won;

When Danube's stream appear'd a purple stood, And sam'd Ramillia's field a sea of blood.

What tho' on France, fortune may smile again, Flury shall plot and Louis league in vain:

Let but your king his cong'ring sword unsheath, Adorn'd with Audenard's still verdant wreath, Rememb'ring Audenard th' aspiring Gaul

Shall tremble on his throne, and fear a greater fall.

So while Achilles from the fight retir'd, New life, and frength the Dardan hoft inspir'd;

But when the Greeks again their hero led, Strait from the field the Trojans trembling fled.

Plymouth, Od. 27, 1739.

To a young Lady with Mustapha, -By a young Scots Gentleman,

WHEN virtue struggles with oppressive woe, [flow, When love's fost anguish prompts the tear to When the muse melts with mourning beauty's care,

What nobler subject can engage the fair?
Since this her generous aim, nor you refuse
To share the forrows of the tragic muse;
The tragic muse in ev'ry age design'd,
To mend the passions and reform the mind,
Form the soft bosom with the gentlest art;
And pour each human virtue on the heart:
Her well-laid morals teach the proud to know,
Vain's ev'ry care, and each pursuit below.
When one, in whom each grace and virtue
join'd,

The noblest pattern of a heav'n-born mind, In vain his virtues guard from envy's blast, Or ward off fate's unerring blow at last; Not all the charms that warm'd Emira's mein, Nor all the virtues of her soul within, Cou'd save from sorrow, or protect her heart From care's sharp stings or love's tormenting fmart:

Love, which in ev'ry breast no power controuls,... The noblest failure of heroick souls.

Nor you, if mov'd as thickning woes arile, Blush that the gen'rous tear o'erslows your

(Expressive tears, that undisguis'd by art, Shew the soft nature or the gentle heart.) For who unmoy'd, unseeling views distress, Is more than mortal, or than human less.

Let not these scenes the less your fancy hit, And please you less, because a Scotsman writ. For every station yields to Scotsmens praise, Theirs is the laurel wreath and theirs the bays; To them the senate yields, to them the fair, First in the field and foremost at the bay. "Tis these," its these my raptur'd thoughts en-

And swell my youthful breast with love of

Their steps to follow, fires my ev'ry strain, Burns in my breast, and beats in ev'ry vein; "This prompts the sigh, and swells th' impassion'd gush, "Josephin"

Cou'd I, my fair, but equal numbers raife,
Then wou'd I fing—for O! I burst to praise;
Sing how for fame in arms and martial deeds,
Not Rome herse'f Albania's sons exceeds.
Hers is a Kieb's, and hers a Campbell's fiame,
Hers youthful Crawford, burning sierce for
fame.

How nature to her peaceful fons imparts,
Each bright'ning glory of politer ar's!
For Mallet's numbers all the nine inspire,
And all the poet glows in Thomson's fire.
Sing how not ev'n Circassia's daughters vie,
With the bright sun-thine of a Scottish eye;
More than their charms, while innocence
within

Shines in their sense, and brightens in their And in their gentle bosoms beam consest The jarring attributes of fair, and chaste.

Blest tho' you are with ev'ry human grace,
The shape engaging, and bewitching face;
Yet know a nobler beauty claims thy care,
Virtue, the sweetest charm can grace the fair.
This to the shape does easier air inspire, shie,
Gives to the sips their bloom, the eyes their
This o'er the cheek with brighter graces shows
The sily's whiteness, and the blushing rose.
This when your beauty sades will ne'er decay,
But age improve it and confirm its sway.

These lays forgive of an unpolish'd muse, Unskill'd the sessionable guile to use, Unskill'd by sulfome praise, or flatt'ring art, Unmanly soft, to gain a semale heart; A muse that ne'er shall study, ne'er shall care, Except by noble means, to please the fair.

W. D.

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On reading in the publick Papers, that Sir John Norris was appointed to cruize the Channel with 45 Sail of Men of War.

R ISE, Norrin! mighty chief! in arms renown'd!

And with thy squadrons spread the seas around:
For lo! thy sovereign claims it at thy hands,
And who dares disobey what he commands?
May then kind heav'n, to fill thy swelling sails,
From ev'ry corner send propitious gales!
Whilst our bold youth, whom love of praise in-

Whom justice actuates, and whom vengrance Haste to thy side, and roug'd to wrath display Their threatning ensigns thro' the watry way. And see! th' insulting Spaniard, from afar, Already trembles at th' approaching war; Already learns this certain truth to know, George and his Britans, rule the world below.

H. PRICE.

† Duke of Argyle.

at a rendered to the

THE

Muflagha.

Park March

Monthly Chronologer.



N the 29th of last Month, an Express arrived from Capt. Cooper, of his Majefty's Ship the Chefter, to his Grace the Duke of Newcaftle, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State,

with Letters from Rear Admiral Haddock, dated Sept. 26, giving an Account, that on the 23d of Sept. a rich Spanish Ship, called the St. Joseph, bound from the Carraceas, and belonging to the Guipuscoan Company, was taken off Cadiz. The said Ship arrived at Spithead the 28th of October, under Convoy of his Majesty's Ship the Chester. The Money and Goods on board, as mention'd in the Bill of Lading, were computed to be worth upwards of 100,000 l. Sterling; befides Silver and other valuable Effects not express'd in the Bill of Lading. The faid Ship is above 800 Tone Burthen. She had on board, as appear'd afterwards, some Diamonds, with a Diamond Solitaire, Diamond Necklace, and feveral Diamond Rings for her Spanish Majesty; and about 70 Men, who

are all made Prisoners.

Two Days after, George Harriot, Mafter of a Merchant Ship, call'd the Vigilant, came to the Duke of Neavcastie's Office, and gave an Account, that either on the 2d or 3d of 09. O. S. Rear Admiral Haddock, in the Somerfet, with three other of his Majesty's Ships under his Command, came into the Bay of Gibraltar, and brought with him a Spanish Ship of about 250 Ton, and 14 Guns, (the Name unknown) bound from the Carraccas to Cadiz, which he had taken within Gun-fhot of Cadiz. Mr. Harriot said, that the proper Officers at Gibraltar were taking an Account of the Cargo of the faid Spanish Ship, which they had not finish'd when he fail'd from Gibraltar on the 7th of that Month, O. S., but that it was generally thought the Value was greater than that of

On the 30th of OH, was celebrated the Anniversary of his Majesty's Birth-Day, who then enter'd into the 57th Year of his Age.

The Inscription on the chief Corner-stone of the Mansion-House for the Lord Mayors of this City (which we promis'd in our last) is as follows

This chief Corner-Stone Was laid the Twenty-fifth Day of October in the Year of our Lord MDCCXXXIX. And in the 13th Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord GEORGE the Second,

King of Great Britain, France and Ireland. By the Rt. Hon. MICA JAH PERRY, Eigs LORD MAYOR of the City of LONDON. ALDERMEN

Sir Francis Child, Knt. John Barber, Efg; Sir Ed. Bellamy, Knt. Sir John Williams, Knt. Sir John Barnard, Knt. Sir Rob. Godfcball, Knt. COMMONERS,

Mr. Dep. John Snart, Mr. Dep. James Danfe, Mr. William Timt, Mr. Dep. Tho. Sandford, Mr. John Everett, Mr. Dep. Jof. Ayliffe. Mr. Dep. R. Farrington, Mr. Dep. Benj. Hodger. Mr. Dep. Sam. Tatem, Mr. Dep. Tho. Nafo,

Mr. Robert Ewans, Mr. Charles Hartley. Being the Committee appointed by Order of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons. of this City, in Common-Council assembled, to erect this Fabrick for a Manfion-House for the Use of the Lord Mayor of this City, for the Time being.

George Heathcote, Esq.; Aldermen, being Sir John Lequesne, Knt. Sheriffs.

George Dance, Architect. MONDAY, Nov. 5.

A great Number of Journeymen Weavers assembled in Spital-Square, near Shoreditch, before the House of an eminent Master Weaver. and endeavoured to destroy the faid House. upon a Report of his endeavouring to bring the rest of the Master Weavers into a Combination, for the Journeymen to wind their Silk in gratis with their Work. A Party of Guards from the Tower was fent for, and the Proclamation read against Riots, &c. but they not dispersing within the limited Time, great Numbers of them were taken Prifoners, forme of whom afterwards escaped; but ten of them, being strongly guarded, were carried before the Juftices Harquood, Peck, and Foroke, who committed them to Newgate, but most of them were foon bail'd out. Several Soldiers that went to suppress this Riot, were dange-rously wounded by Bricks and Tiles thrown on them from the Tops of Houses.

TUESDAY, 6. Came Advice, that a French Privateer with 20 Guns, having Spanish Colours, fired at a Man of War of 20 Guns, supposing her to be a Merchant Ship, near the Chops of the Channel, when after exchanging a Broadfide with each other the supposed Spaniard bore away, and hoisted French Colours, but was soon taken, and carried by the Man of War into

MONDAY, 12.

The St. Joseph, the Spanish Ship lately taken, being order'd round from Portmouth,

arriv'd at Woolwich, where she is to be made a Hulk of.

TUESDAY, 13.

Came Advice, that the Dolphin, Captain Reymes, bound from London to Barbadies, was taken 90 Leagues to the Westward of the Lizard, by a Spanish Privateer of 10 Guns, and 70 Men, and carried into St. Sebassians. The said Ship had on board the State Coaches, 12 fine Horses, and a great Part of the Baggage of his Excellency Robert Byng, Esq.; Governor of Barbadoes, besides a large Quantity of very valuable Goods.

THURSDAY, 15.

This Morning, the Money taken on board the St. Joseph, the rich Carraccas Ship, was brought to Town from Portsmenth, and lodged at the Bank. It was brought in two Waggens, and guarded by the First Troop of Horse Grenadiets.

His Majesty went to the House of Peers, and opened the Session of Parliament with the following most gracious Speech to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE present Posture of our Affairs has obliged me to call you together, at this Time, sooner than has been usual of late Years, that I may have the immediate Advice and Assistance of my Parliament at this critical and important Conjuncture. I have, in all my Proceedings with the Court of Spain, acted agreeably to the Sense of both Houses of Parliament; and therefore I can make no doubt, but I shall meet with a ready and vigorous Support in this just and necessary War, which the repeated Injuries, and Violences committed by that Nation upon the Navigation and Commerce of these Kingdoms, and their Obstinacy, and notorious Violation of the most solemn Engagments, have rendered unavoidable.

have rendered unavoidable.

I have augmented my Forces by Sea and Land, purfuant to the Power given me by Parliament; which I have done with all the Moderation, that the Security and Defence of my Dominions, the Protection of our Trade, and the necessary Means of distressing and annoying our Enemies in the most sensible Parts, would admit: But as these Services will be various and extensive, they must inevitably be attended with great Expences, and some Inconveniencies; which, I assure myself, will be sustained with Satisfaction and Cheerfulness, in pursuing such Measures, as the Honour and Interest of my Crown and Kingdoms, and the general Resentment of an injured and provoked Nation, have called upon me to undertake.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the proper Officers to lay before you Effimates for the Service of the enfuing Year, and likewise Accounts of the ex-

traordinary Expences that have been made this Year, in purfuance of the Power given me by Parliament. And as in the Profecution of this War, a Number of Soldiers, to ferve on board the Fleet, may be requifite; I have judged it proper, that a Body of Marines should be raised, and have directed the Estimates for this purpose to be likewise prepared, and laid before you: And I cannot doubt, from your known Affection to my Person and Government, and your Zeal for the Safety, Profperity, and Glory of these Kingdoms, but you will grant me fuch effeetual Supplies, and with fuch Dispatch, as may forward, and give Spirit to our Preparations, and enable me to carry on the Warwith Vigour.

My Lords and Gentlemen.

The Heats and Animofities, which, with the greatest Industry, have been fomented throughout the Kingdom, have, I am afraid, been one of the chief Encouragements to the Court of Spain, to hold such a Conduct to-wards us, as to make it necessary to have recourse to Arms; and the unhappy Divisions amongst my Subjects, are the only Hopes of the Enemies to my Government : But wha'ever Views and Projects they may form upon this Rupture, and what Advantages foever Spain may vainly promife itself from any Circumftances in the present Situation of Affairs; it is in your Power, by the Bleffing of God, to defeat the one, and disappoint the other. Union among all those, who have nothing at Heart but the true Interest of Great Brieain, and a becoming Zeal in the Defence of my Kingdoms, and in the Support of the common Cause of our Country, with as general a Concurrence in carrying on the War, as there has appeared for engaging in it, will make the Court of Spain repent the Wrongs they have done us; and convince those, who mean the Subversion of the present Establishment, that this Nation is determined, and able, both to vindicate their injured Honour, and to defend themselves against all our open and fecret Enemies, both at Home and Abroad.

The Right Hon. the House of Peers waited on his Majesty with their Address of Thanks, as follows:

Most gracious Sovereign,

Subjects, the Lords spiritual and level Subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our sintere and humble Thanks for your most gracious Speech from the Throne.

The great Regard, which your Majesty hath expressed for the Sense of both Houses of Parliament, in your Proceedings with the Court of Spain, is a Continuance of that royal Goodness, and Concern for the true interest

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terest of your People, which we have so often experienced; and your Majesty's Desire to have the Advice and Assistance of your Parliament, as early as possible; in this important Conjuncture, is a fresh Proof of your real Considence in your faithful Subjects.

The Justice and Necessity of the War, which your Majesty has been pleased to declare against Spain, must be as demonstrable to all the World, as the violent and intolerable Methods practifed by that Nation, to intersupt and diffress the Navigation and Commerce of these Kingdoms, are notorious; and it is the highest Aggravation of this offensive and inexcusable Conduct, that it has been obflinately purfued, in breach of the most folemn Engagements, and in defiance of the highest Obligations of Friendship and good Offices. But fince Great Britain has been thus unavoidably called forth to Arms, we efteem it our peculiar Felicity, that we have a Prince upon the Throne, who, with paternal Ternderness, joins in the just Resentment of an injured Nation; and whose Magnanimity and Steadiness are equal to the glo-

on this Occasion, the unseigned Tender of our Lives and Fortunes is no more than is due to your Majesty, and our Country; and we do, from the Bottom of our Hearts, give your Majesty the strongest Assurances, that we will zealously concur in all such Measures, as may forward your Preparations, and enable you to carry on the War with that Spirit and Vigour, which truly become the British

Name. Your Majesty's Goodness in acquainting us from the Throne, that you have augmented your Forces by Sea and Land, pursuant to the Power given you by Parliament, with all the Moderation that was confiftent with those defirable Ends, which you, in your royal Wisdom, have pointed out to us, is an In-flance of your Majesty's gracious Disposition to avoid bringing any vanecessary Burdens upon your People: And tho' we cannot flatter ourselves, that a State of War will not be attended with great Expences, and forme Inconveniencies; yet, when it is undertaken, not to gratify the Views of reales Ambition, but to affert and maintain the Honour and just Rights of your Majesty's Crown and Kingdoms, we doubt not, but those powerful Motives, will induce all your Subjects to un-

It gives us inexpressible Concern, that there should be any Occasion for your Majesty to repeat your gracious Admonitions against those Heats and Animosities, which have been fomented throughout the Kingdom. As we cannot but most seriously lament the unhappy Divisions thereby occasioned; so nothing shall be wanting on our Part to heal them, by promoting that good Harmony and Unanimity,

dergo with Cheerfulness, whatever is necessary

which are so necessary at this Juncture: And we trust in God, that any Hopes or Views formed by our Enemies upon such Circumstances, will be found utterly vain and groundless; since all your Majesty's Subjects must be convinced, that the Security of our Religion and Liberties, and the Safety and Prosperity of these Kingdoms do entirely depend on the Preservation of your facred Person and Government, and of the Protestant Succession in your royal House.

In this common Caule, Interest, as well as Duty, will make us unite; and we do with the greatest Zeal an Firmness assure your Majesty, that we are determined, at the Hazard of all that is dear to us, to support it against all your Enemies, both at home and abroad; imploring the divine Providence to give Success to your Arms, and make them the happy Means of procuring a safe and honourable Peace.

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

I thank you for this Address, so full of Duty and Affection to me, and of seasonable Assurances of your vigorous Support. The Satisfaction you express in the Measures I have taken, is very agreeable to me; and you may depend on my Bndeavours to carry on the War in such a Manner, as may helt answer the necessary Ends proposed by it, and the just Expectations of my People.

The Hon. House of Commons waited on his Majesty with their Address of Thanks for his most gracious Speech from the Throne. To which his Majesty was pleas'd to return a most gracious Answer.

Was held at Somerfer. House the first General Meeting of the Nobility and Gentry, appointed by his Majesty's Royal Charter to be Governors and Guardians of the Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of export and deserted young Children, to hear their Charter read, and to appoint their Secretary and a Committee.

Previous to the reading of the Charter, Tho.
Coram, Eig; the Petitioner for the Charter, address'd his Grace the Duke of Bedford, the Prefident, in the following Manner, viz.

My Lord Dake of Bedford,

IT is with inexpressible Pleasure I now prefent your Grace, at the Head of this noble and honourable Corporation, with his Majesty's Royal Charter for establishing an Hospital for expos'd Children, free of all Expence, thro' the Assistance of some compasfionate great Ladies, and other good Persons.

I can, my Lord, sincerely aver, that no-

I can, my Lord, fincerely aver, that nothing would have induc'd me to embark in a Defign fo full of Difficulties and Difcouragements, but a Zeal for the Service of his Majefty, in preferving the Lives of great Numbers of his innocent Subjects.

The long and melancholy Experience of this Nation, has too demonstrably shewn with what Barbarity tender Infants have been expos'd and destroy'd, for Want of proper Means of preventing the Disgrace, and succouring the Necessities of their Parents.

The Charter will disclose the extensive Nature and End of this Charity, in much stronger Terms than I can possibly describe them; so that I have only to thank your Grace, and many other noble Personages, for all that savourable Protection which hath given Life and Spirit to my Endeavours.

My Lord, altho' my declining Years will not permit me to hope for feeing the full Accomplishment of my Wishes; yet I can now rest satisfied, and it is what I esteem an ample Reward of more than seventeen Years expensive Labour, and steady Application, that I see your Grace at the Head of this charitable Trust, assisted by so many noble and homourable Governors.

Under such powerful Instuences and Directions, I am consident of the final Success of my Endeavours; and that the Publick will one Day reap the happy and lasting Fruits of your Grace's and this Corporation's Measures; and as long as my Life and poor Abilities endure, I shall not abate of my zealous Wishes, and most active Services for the Good and Prosperity of this truly noble and honourable Corporation.

I am, May it please your Grace,
Your Grace's and the Corporation's
Most obedient Serwant,

After the Charter was read, Dr. Mead, in the most pathetick Manner, set forth the great Necessity of such an Hospital, and the vast Advantages that must accrue to the Nation by this useful Establishment.

The Court then, pursuant to their Charter, proceeded to the Election of a Secretary, when Mr. Harman Verels was chosen; and a Committee of 50 of their own Members to carry on the Affairs of the Corporation, till the second Wednesday in May next. [Their Names shall be inserted in our next.]

The said Corporation, by the Charter, not-withstanding the Statute of Mortmain, may purchase, take, have, receive and enjoy, to them and their Successors, Lands, Tenements, Annuities, Hereditaments, &c. not exceeding the yearly Value of 4000 l. And the second Wednesday in May yearly, there is to be a General Meeting of the Governors and Guardians of the said Corporation, for electing Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Treasurers, and Committees. And that all Secretaries and Servants shall be annually appointed (or oftner, if needful) by the Governors at the General Meeting; and that sour General Meetings be in a Year.

A great Number of Lords and Commons,

(among whom were Sir William Wyndbam, and William Pultency, Efq.) waited on his Majefty with the joint Resolution of both Houses of Parliament, as follows:

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Resolved by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament affem-bled, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, as a dutiful Return to his gracious Defire of the Advice of his Parliament at this critical and important Conjuncture; and as a farther Testimony of our firm Resolution vigorously to support his Majesty in the Profecution of the War against Spain, humbly to befeech his Majesty, never to admit of any Treaty of Peace with that Crown, unless the Acknowledgment of our natural and indubitable Right to navigate in the American Sess, to and from any Part of his Majefty's Dominions, without being seized, searched, visited, or stopped, under any Pretence whatfnever, shall have been first obtained as a Preliminary

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,
I thank you for this dutiful Address, which is so agreeable to former Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament. Your unanimous and vigorous Support in carrying on the War, will be the best Means of procuring safe and honourable Terms of Peace; and you may rely on my utmost Care and Endeavour, to obtain effectual Security for the just Rights of Navigation and Commerce belonging to my Subjects.

A Proclamation was iffued for a publick Fast throughout the Kingdom, on Wednesday the 9th Day of January next, for imploring God's Bleffing and Assistance on our Arms against Spain.

There are at present 30,000 Men on the Establishment of Great Britain, 12,000 on the Establishment of Ireland, and 6000 Marines to be raised as fast as possible, and 6000 Danes to be taken into our Service, if wanted; which, with 30,000 Men in his Majesty's Electorate of Hanover, will be upwards of 80,000 Troops under his Majesty, by the Spring, if they are wanted.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

The Slaughter, of Aston Park in Chefibire, Esq; to Miss Warburton.—Rev.
Mr. Ragers, Rector of Finchamstead in Berks,
to Miss Barefoot.—Peter Wyche, of Goby in
Licestersh. Esq; to Miss Browne.— Missing,
of Portsmouth, Esq; to Miss Streatfield.—Mr.
Beal, Secretary to his Grace the Lord Steward
of the Houshold, to Miss Russel.—Lady Talbot,
safely seliver'd of a Son and Heir.—Dutchess
of Richmond, of a Daughter.—Countess of
Albemarle, of a Daughter.

WILLIAM Turner, Esq; on y Son of Cholmley Turner, Esq; on his Travels,
—Sir William Thomson, one of the Barons of the

the Exchequer, and Recorder of London.—Mr. John Ewerett, Deputy of the Ward of Far-ringdon Within.—Charles Jervase, Esq. Principal Painter to his Majesty .- Lady Edwards, Wife of Sir James Edwards, Bart .- Joseph Cutbbert, Efq, Lieut. Col. of the Reg. of Foot, Efq; Barrifter at Law .- Mr. Charles Ireland, one of the Clerks in the Auditor's Office in the Exchequer. - Mr. Tho. Garnier, Apothecary to Chelfea College. - Mr. Paul Vaillant, an eminent Bookseller, in the Foreign Way.— Sir Nicholas Pelham, Knt.—Rev. Mr. Sa-muel Wesley, Head-Master of the Free-School at Tiverton, Devon .- General Sabine, Governor of Gibralter.—Right Hon. Thomas Went-worth, Earl of Strafford.—Mr. Dufour, Trea-surer to the French Haspital.—Mr. Christopher White, Chemist to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.—Francis Jernegan, Efq; Brother to Sir George Jernegan, Bart.—Dr. Cockbourn, an eminent Physician.—Sir George Walton, Knt. late Admiral of the Blue .- The Lady of Sir Jacob Bouverie, Bart. - Mr. John Cotton, only Son of John Cotton, Eig; Grandson of Sir Robert Cotton, of Huntingdonswire, Bart .- Right Hon. Harry Earl of Stamford .- George Rook, Esq; Son and Heir of the late Sir George Rock, Knt. Admiral of Great Britain. Mr. John Middleton, an eminent Whalebone-Seller, and Boddice-Maker .- Rich. Patringer, Efq; Memb.

for Reading, and one of the Welfb Judget .- Rev. Dr. Drayton Pigget, Rect. of Edymont in Stroops. Ecclefiaftical PREFERMENTS.

M. A. to the Rectory of St. Nicholas in Abington, Berks. — Mr. Sanderson, M. A. to the Vicarage of St. Nicholas in Leicester.—Mr. Edmund Parker, to the Living of Newington near Hythe.—Mr. Rob. Harding, M. A. to the Rectory of Aspency, alias Ashton, in Northamptonsbire.—Mr. Gilbert Wittel, M. A. to the Rectory of St. Nicholas in Hereford.

Promotions Civil and Military.

DUKE of Manchester made Lord Lieut.

and Custos Rotulorum of the County of Huntingdon; also one of the Lords of the Bedchamber.—Earl of Essex made Capt. of the Yeomen of the Guard.—Mr. Serjeant Wright, made one of the Barons of the Exchequer; in the Room of Mr. Baron Thomson, deceas'd.—Mr. Strange; his Majesty's Sollicitor General, chosen by the Court of Aldermen Recorder of London.—Lieut. Gen. Glayton made Gov. of Gibraltar: And Major General Hargrade Lieut. Gov. of the said Garison.—Hon. Mr. Wallop and Mr. Chamberlaine, made Pages of Honour to his Majesty.—Charles Gore, Ess; chosen Member of Parl, for Cricklade in Wills.—Col. Pultency, for Heydon in Torkstire.—Garton Orme; Ess; for Arundel in Suffex.

The Bankrupts, and other military Premotions in our next.

Prices of Stocks, &c. towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.	Land The latter consequent with the
S. Sea 95 1 a 1 Afric. 13 1	Abstract of the London WEEKLY
-Bonds no Price Royal Aff. 88	BILL, from Off. 23. to Nov. 20.
-Annu. 108 3 a 1 Lon. ditto 11 3	mention of the test out atmost a decided
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-Circ. 21. 21. 6d. Salt Tallies = 2 11.	Females 627 \$ 1259
Mil. Bank 111 2 Emp. Loan109 2110	Males 1048?
India 157 2 Equiv. 112 2	Cremates 1134
	Died under 2 Years old 769
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D. Sight 35 4 1 Legborn 49 8 2 4	10 20 65
Rotter. 35 9 25 Genon 52 8	w shoel gollbaff most set o30 w , 100 153
Hamb. 34 4 2 3 2 2 Venice 50 8	3011 207
P. Sight 31 16 28 Lish. 51 5d 8	40 50 215
Bourdx. 31 4 Oport. 51 4d 3 a 2	50 60 181 60 70 109
Cadiz 39 1 1 Anto. 36 5 4 4	
Madrid 39 1 Dublin 8 1	70 80 113 80 90 80
Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.	and the second s
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Barley 13 18 Pease 28 32 H. Beans 19 22 H. Pease 16 18	Hay 34 to 471. a Load.
P. Malt 19 22 B. Mait 16 18	4 Q THE
19 22 21 1200	

HE following is faid to be an Abstract of the preliminary Articles of Peace figned at Belgrade, between Russia and the Otcoman Porte.

1. The Fortress of Ajopb shall be entirely demolished: All its Territory shall be laid waste, and serve as a Barrier between Russia and the Grand Seignier's Dominions.

2. That Territory being thus laid waste, Russia may build a Fortress on their Side of the Don, and the Porte another on their Side

of that River.

3. The City of Tagorrock, built on the Sea of Aloph by the Czar Peter I. shall not be re-established.

4. The Ruffians thall have no Vestels either in that or the Euxin fea: They shall be obliged to freight the Turkish Shipe, if they have

a mind to trade in those Seas.

5. As the Regulations of Limits agreed on in the Treaties of 1700 and 1720 are not precise enough to prevent Disputes, it is agreed, that the Limits of the two Empires westward of the Nueper, shall be the same as were fettled by the private Convention of the Year 1705, fo that the Kudack Thall bolong to the Porte. The Limits on the East Side of the Nieper, shall be regulated by a new Convention.

As the Articles of Perce between these two great Powers are now ratified by each, Count Lacey, with the Ruffian Army under his Command, is returned to the Ukraine, and Count Munich, with the other Ruffian Army under his Command, is upon his Return to the fame Place, thro' the fouthern Parts of Poland: The latter crowned with Victory, besaule he met with an Enemy to vanquish; and if the same cannot be said of the former, it is only because he had, in the preceding Campaigns, spread such an universal Terror thro' the Crim, that he could meet with no

Bremy to vanquish.

But the most remarkable Piece of News we have lately had from Ruffia, is the polite as well as political Letter wrote by the Cza-Fina to the Emperor, in answer to that which he had wrote to her, for excufing his being obliged to approve of the Preliminaries of Peace, figned by Count Neuperg in the Turkijh Camp before Belgrade. That Princes, in her Answer, was so far from finding fault with what had been done, as the justly might, that the attributed what had happened to a Number of Fatalities which could not be forefeen; Affured him that the was very far from imputing to his Imperial Majesty any of the Transactions of that Negotiation: Exhorted his Imperial Majesty to moderate the Grief he testified by his Letter upon that Occasion: Declared, that neither that Event, nor any other of the like Nature, would ever be capable to leffen the Confideration and Attachment the had for his Importal Majesty; and

concluded with Affurances of the earnest Defire the had to firengthen more and more the Bonds by which they were united.

The Conficans having all fubmitted, we are

now told, that Poffession has been taken of that Island, in the Name of Don Philip of Spain, just married to one of the Princesses of France, and by way of Consideration to the Genoese, for giving up their Right to this Island, the King of Spain is to renounce, in favour of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, all Right or Claim to the allodical Estate of the House of Medicis, on condition that the Grand Duke, on his Part, yield to his Catholick Majesty, the Territories of Lungiana and Pontremoli, which are Dependencies on Tuf-cany, and which his Catholick Majesty is to

grant to the Gemele.

Our Letters from Madrid fay, that the Number of English Prizes carried by the Spamiards into the Harbour of St. Sebastians alone, amounted, on the first of last Month, to 18, exclusive of those carried into other Porrs. if this be true, it is really furprizing, confidering that half a Dozen 20 Gun Cruizets stationed on the northern and western Cousts of Spain, as foon as the Letters of Reprilal were published, would not only have prevented the Spanife Privateers from flirring out of their Ports, but would have given Warning to our Merchant-ships, not to enter the Ports of Spain; and if half a Dozen other fuch Cruizers had been, at the same Time, stationed in the Mediterranean, it would have prevented great Lols to our Merchants, and would have made the Spaniards foon weary of the War, when they faw they could get nothing, and might lose a great deal.

By the last Accounts from Paris we are told, that an Express was arrived there with the King of Spain's Declaration of War against Great Britain; and that they are extremely bufy in all the Ports of France, fitting out their old and building new Ships of War. One may judge for what End thele Preparations are making; but the Court of France have not, as yet, declared in favour of Spain, nor will they probably declare, till they have sufficiently encreased their noval Force; and before they can do this, it is to be hoped, we shall be able to force Spain to agree

The Dutch began to complain of their Merchant-ships being stopt and visited upon the Coafts of Spain by our Men of War, which they faid we had no Right to do, be-cause there was no War declar'd between the two Nations, and confequently there could be no fuch Thing as contraband Goods on board any of their Ships bound to Spain, nor any Pretenge for our thopping or visiting them; but, the Ground of this Complaint is now re-moved, by the Declaration of War, and therefore, neither they nor any other Nation

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can take it amis, if we endeavour to prevent our Enemies being furnished with any of those Goods or Materials, which, by the Law of Nations, or by Treaty, are to be deemed

contraband.

We have lately an Account from Vienna, that Couriers have been dispatched to London, Paris, and Lisbon, with the Emperar's Reso-lution to observe an exact Neutrality in the present War between Great Britain and Spain, provided no other Powers meddle with that Dispute, and that no Disturbance be given to his Imperial Majesty's hereditary Countries; which is as favourable a Resolution as we could defire; for, if no other Power intermeddles, the Eyent of the War may be eafily foretold.

We have had a confirm'd Account, that the famous Kouli Kan has actually taken Poffellion of the Great Mogul's Country, and has put the Mogul and his prime Minister into a Castle, and caus'd their Eyes to be put out. The Inhabitants of the City of Deli murmur'd at this Treatment, and began to mutiny, upon which Kouli Kan order'd his Army

to fall upon them, which they did for two days together, and in that Space of Time it is computed near 300,000 Men, Women, and Children, were kill'd. When the Letters came away, they were rifing in feveral Pasts of the Empire, in order to make Head against the new Usurper. It is likewise added, that Kouli Kan had plac'd his Son on the Throne of Perfia.

Mr. Mann, who has the Care of his Britannick Majesty's Affairs at the Court of Florence, having complain'd to the great Duke's Minister, that some Persons were concern'd in fitting out Privateers to cruize on the British Ships, that Minister thereupon sent to Legborn an Order from his Royal Highness, the Contents of which was, that if they did not immediately defift, they, with their Families, would be banish'd, and their Goods confiscated; which put an End to those Proceedings. The Doge and Senate of Genoa, upon the Inflances of the British Conful, have also publish'd a very Britt Order to their Subjects, forbidding them to have any Concern in fitting out Privateers.

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